THE REIGN

OF

GEORGE THE THIRD.

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A HISTORY

OF THE

REIGN OF GEORGE III.

TO THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO:

With OUTLINES of LITERATURE during THE PERIOD.

For the Use of Young Students.

BY

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CHAPLAIN-GENERAL TO HER MAJESTY'S FORCES.

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PREFACE.

THE IDEA of publishing, as a separate volume, the following extract from the 'School History of England' did not originate with myself. I owe the idea to EDWARD E. MORRIS, Esq., Head-master of the Beds Middle Class Public School, to whom I am also indebted for the excellent Table and Index, which simplify the reading of the work. To him likewise belongs the credit of the brief but clear sketch of the Literature of the Era, which will be found in the concluding chapter. And I have farther to thank him for seeing the little work through the press at a time when it had pleased God, by suddenly impairing my vision, to render such a task next to impossible for me.

G. R. G.

January 1873.

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END OF SEVEN YEARS' WAR.

[THE CAUSES OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR (BEGINNING IN 1756).

1. Between England and France.
   No boundary had been fixed upon by earlier treaties between the French and English dominions in America.
   When the French built Fort Duquesne (now Pittsburg) the English Ohio Company remonstrated. They sent General Braddock to attack it, and he was defeated.
2. Between Prussia and her enemies.
   King Frederick got hold of documents about a League of Warsaw, a secret Treaty for the Partition of Prussia. *Dividing the bear's skin before the bear was slain.*
   Prussia's enemies were Austria—under Maria Theresa, still smarting from the loss of Silesia—Poland and Saxony, Russia, and even her old ally, France.

ALLIANCE IS MADE BETWEEN ENGLAND AND PRUSSIA. PITT SENDS SUBSIDIES TO FREDERICK.

COURSE OF THE WAR TO 1760.

1. English not at first very successful. In 1759, four great successes:
   (1) Capture of Guadaloupe.
   (2) Battle of Minden. Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick wins.
   (3) Admiral Boscawen wins victory of Lagos.
   (4) Wolfe's great victory at Quebec.
   (5) Sir Edward Hawke wins naval battle of Quiberon.
2. Frederick has lost several battles, and won several. On the whole, h is beginning to get the best of it.]

1761. Capture from the French of Pondicherry, in India. French power in Deccan destroyed.

CHAPTER II.

THE WAR OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

SECTION I.—THE CAUSES.

1770. Lord North premier. All the duties repealed except that on tea.

1772. December 18. Cargoes of tea in Boston harbour thrown overboard by young men disguised as Mohawk Indians.

1773. March. Act passed to close the harbour of Boston.
May. Act to deprive Massachusetts of its charter.
September. Congress of delegates from twelve old colonies meet at Philadelphia.

1775. April 19. Skirmish at Lexington.

1776. July 4. Declaration of American Independence. (13 colonies, Georgia added).

SECTION II.—THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE TO THE FRENCH ALLIANCE.

1775. April 19. Skirmish at Lexington.
June 15. George Washington appointed Commander-in-Chief of American army.
June 17. Americans defeated, being driven from their position, at Bunker's Hill (Breed's Hill), near Boston. General Gage, the British general.
December 31. The Americans invade Canada, and attack Quebec. Their general, Montgomery, killed.

1776. March 17. Boston evacuated by General Howe, who succeeded General Gage.
July 4. Declaration of Independence.
August 27. British, under Howe, gain a victory over Washington at Brooklyn, Long Island.
Washington retreats behind the Delaware.
December 26. British posts at Trenton surprised by Washington.

1777. Two campaigns planned by British:
(1) General Burgoyne to secure the Hudson River.
(2) General Howe to create a diversion by attacking Philadelphia.
Americans send General Gates to oppose Burgoyne.
" " " Washington " Howe.
September 11. Howe wins the battle of Brandywine, and secures Philadelphia.
September 19. General Burgoyne defeated at Stillwater.
October 8. " " " " Saratoga.
October 16. Convention of Saratoga; surrender of General Burgoyne and 5,790 British troops.

1778. February 6. Treaty of Alliance between France and the United States signed at Paris.
April 7. Earl of Chatham seized with a fit in the House of Lords, protesting against Peace with America.
May 11. Death of Lord Chatham.

SECTION III.—COURSE OF THE WAR AFTER THE FRENCH ALLIANCE.

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE TO THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

1763. George Grenville premier.
Wilkes prosecuted for libel in 'North Briton.'
General warrants declared illegal.

1764. Wilkes expelled from Parliament.

1782. July 1. Marquis of Rockingham died.
Lord Shelburne premier. William Pitt the Younger (aged 23) chancellor of the exchequer.

1783. Feb. 23. House of Commons condemns Peace of Paris.
April 2. The Coalition Government. ('All the Talents.') Lord North and Charles James Fox.
The Indian Bill failed.
Dec. 19. Mr. Pitt premier.

1784. August 13. Mr. Pitt's Indian Bill passed.

1788. October. King George III. lost his reason.

1789. February 26. King pronounced convalescent.

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1. Feudal State of France.
   a. Tiers état paid all the taxes (nobles and clergy, none), had no privileges.
   b. King. Unfortunate. Change to Louis XV. Unsuccessful in war, openly profligate, and opposed to religion.
   c. Nobles. Creation of new nobles, despised by old nobles: nobles would not live in country seats, but crowded to court.
   d. Church. Decency laid aside.
2. Rise of Literary Class. Hostile to religion.
3. Pressure of taxation on account of Seven Years' War.
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   Ministry of Necker and Turgot. Reforms in finances and judicial matters.
   Ministry of Calonne. Make nobles and clergy pay taxes. (Unfortunately the Notables, not States-general).
   Ministry of Archbishop of Sens. Reaction.

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1798. Feb. Rome made a Republic by the French: in Jan. next year, Naples.
May—June. Rebellion in Ireland. Total defeat of the rebels at Ballinahinch and Vinegar Hill.
Aug. A French force of 900 men, under Gen. Humbert, lands at Killalan, in Ireland; soon surrenders.

BUONAPARTE'S EGYPTIAN CAMPAIGN.

May 19. Buonaparte sails from Toulon for Egypt.
June 11. „ captures Malta.
July 2. „ „ Alexandria.
July 21. „ defeats the Mamelukes in the battle of the Pyramids.
Aug. 1. Nelson wins the great victory of the Nile over the French fleet at Aboukir Bay.
Result of the battle—a new league against France: Russia, Turkey, England, and some smaller states.

1799. Feb., Mar. Capture of El Arish, Gaza, Jaffa, in Syria.
Mar.—May. Gallant defence of Acre by Sir Sidney Smith.
June. French army returns to Egypt.
August. Buonaparte returns to France.

ENGLISH EXPEDITION TO THE HELDER.

Sir Ralph Abercrombie lands with 12,000 men.
Capture of Dutch fleet.
Rest of troops under Duke of York arrive.
Russians join in the expedition.
English and Russians win two battles, lose one.
Expedition utterly futile. Return of English troops.

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BUONAPARTE FIRST CONSUL.

1799. Nov. 10. Revolution of 19th Brumaire. Directory suppressed.
Dec. Constitution of the year VIII. with three Consuls, a senate of eighty, legislative body of three hundred. Napoleon Buonaparte First Consul.
Autograph Letter by Buonaparte to King of England, offering peace.
1800. May—July. Buonaparte's second Italian campaign—defeats the Austrians, especially at Marengo.
July 2. Act of Union between Great Britain and Ireland passed.
Sept. Capitulation of Malta to the British.
1801. French make peace with Austria, Russia, and some smaller States.
March. Pitt resigned. Mr. Addington premier.
Abercrombie's expedition to Egypt,—defeat of French at Alexandria; and death.

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1808. March 19. Abdication of Charles IV. of Spain; Ferdinand VII. proclaimed.
June 4. War declared by Spain against Napoleon.
July. Joseph Buonaparte enters Madrid as King of Spain; soon retires.
August. Sir Arthur Wellesley lands in Portugal with a British army; French defeated at Roriça and at Vimiera; Convention of Cintra, and evacuation of Portugal by the French.
1809. January 11. Battle of Corunna; Sir John Moore killed.
April. War declared by Austria against France.

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1809. April 22. Landing of Sir Arthur Wellesley in Lisbon.
May 12. Capitulation of Vienna to the French.
Passage of the Douro by Sir A. Wellesley.
July. Austrians defeated at Wagram by Napoleon.
French defeated at Talavera by Wellesley.
October. Treaty of peace between France and Austria signed.
Expedition of English to Walcheren.
1810. October. English enter the lines of Torres Vedras.
Series of actions in the Spanish peninsula.
1811. May. French defeated at Albuera.
June. Siege of Badajoz.
1812. January. Siege of Ciudad Rodrigo.
April. Badajoz taken by storm.
July. French defeated by Wellington at Salamanca.
August. Entry of British into Madrid.
Napoleon's Russian expedition; he enters Moscow.
September. Burning of Moscow.
October. Commencement of French retreat from Russia.
1813. May. Napoleon defeats Russians and Prussians at Lutzen an Bautzen.
June. French defeated at Vittoria by Wellington.
July. Battle of the Pyrenees.
October. Entry of the British into France.
The French, under Napoleon, defeated at Leipzig.
1814. February. French defeated by Wellington at Orthes.
Quadruple alliance between Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia.
March. Entry of the Allies into Paris.
April. Abdication of Napoleon, and his departure for Elba.

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THE HUNDRED DAYS.

THE HUNDRED DAYS.

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SOVEREIGNS CONTEMPORARY WITH THE REIGN OF GEORGE III. (1760–1820).

	FRANCE.	GERMANY (Emperors of the Holy Roman Empire).	SPAIN.	RUSSIA.	PRUSSIA.	POPES.
	Louis XV. (1715)	Francis I. (1745)	Charles III. (1759)	Elizabeth (1741)	Frederick II. (1740)	Clement XIII. (1758)
1762	. .	. .	. .	Peter III.		
—	. .	. .	. .	Catherine II.		
1765	. .	Joseph II.				
1769	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	Clement XIV.
1774	Louis XVI.					
1775	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	Pius VI.
1786	. .	. .	. .	. .	Frederick William II.	
1788	. .	. .	Charles IV.			
1790	. .	Leopold II.				
1792	Republic	Francis II.				
1796	. .	. .	. .	Paul I.		
1797	. .	. .	. .	. .	Frederick William III.	
1799	Napoleon Buonaparte First Consul					
1800	. .	. .	. .	Alexander I.		
1801	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	Pius VII.
1804	Napoleon Emperor					
1806	. .	became Emperor of Austria				
1808	. .	. .	Ferdinand VII. (Joseph Buonaparte)			
1814	Louis XVIII.					

LIST OF ADMINISTRATIONS.

1757. Pitt.

1761. Duke of Newcastle.

1762. Earl of Bute.

1763. George Grenville.

1765. Marquis of Rockingham.

1766. Duke of Grafton.

1770. Lord North.

1782. Marquis of Rockingham.

1782. Earl of Shelburne.

1783. Duke of Portland, Lord North, & Charles James Fox. (The Coalition.)

1783. William Pitt

1801. Mr. Addington.

1804. Pitt.

1806. Fox. (Coalition.)

1807. Duke of Portland.

1809. Perceval.

1812. Lord Liverpool.

THE

REIGN OF GEORGE III.

CHAPTER I.

END OF SEVEN YEARS' WAR.

GEORGE II. died suddenly at Kensington on October 25, 1760. He had outlived his son, Frederick, Prince of Wales, nine years, and thus left the vacant throne to be filled by his grandson, George III. This prince, educated strictly in private, grew up with ideas somewhat exaggerated of the royal prerogative; but he was endowed by Nature with an amiable disposition, and valued the powers which his station conferred upon him, chiefly because of the opportunities which they afforded of doing good to others.

'Born and educated in this country,' so ran his first speech to Parliament, 'I glory in the name of Briton, and the peculiar happiness of my life will ever consist in promoting the welfare of a people whose loyalty and warm affection to me I consider the greatest and most permanent security of my throne.' An honest boast this, which the course of a long and arduous reign fully justified, because the very failings of him who uttered it leaned to virtue's side, and his errors, when he committed them, were those of judgment only.

The young King was in the twenty-third year of his age when the burden of royalty devolved upon him. He found the country engaged in what in his speech to Parliament he described as 'an expensive, but just war,' and he adopted at once both the policy of his predecessor, and the Ministers who had been chosen to direct it. He found England, also, holding a place among the

nations such as had never before been conceded to her since the times of Marlborough. After sustaining terrible reverses both by sea and land—the loss of Minorca in Europe, the defeat of Braddock and other generals in America, the repulse of his sole ally, Frederick the Great of Prussia, in Bohemia, and the subjugation of Hanover by France and her allies—George II. had been prevailed upon to call to his counsels the most illustrious statesman of the age, under whose management the tide of success was turned, and the very memory of past defeats obliterated. William Pitt, the younger son of a country gentleman, and a man of slender means, had early distinguished himself as a speaker in the House of Commons. He was not a Whig, he was not a Tory, but might have been confounded with this latter party because he joined the opposition which drove Walpole from power, and accepted a place in the household of Frederick, Prince of Wales. By-and-by, he became Paymaster to the Forces, and retained that office for many years. In this situation he exhibited rare disinterestedness, refusing the perquisites or gifts, which made the office the most lucrative under the Crown, and contenting himself with the moderate salary which was attached to it. But Pitt looked, as his great abilities entitled him to do, for higher office, and in due time his ambition was gratified.

The Duke of Newcastle kept his place much more because he was the head of one of the great Whig houses, than through any merits of his own. He was greedy of influence, yet possessed none of the personal qualities which could command it. He at once feared and disliked the Paymaster to the Forces, who, because of his boldness in denouncing the continental policy of the Monarch, was an object of something like aversion to the King. So circumstanced, Pitt suffered many mortifications, which it was hard for one of his temperament to endure, till, having spoken in favour of a vote of censure on the Duke, he was, in 1755, summarily dismissed.

It was about this time that the Seven Years' War began, and before the year came to a close Minorca had fallen. Other reverses followed, and Newcastle's Administration crumbled to pieces of its own accord. The Duke endeavoured to lure Pitt back to his support, but failed. Upon this the Duke of Devonshire formed an Administration, in which Pitt accepted office as Secretary of State; but there was little harmony among its

several members, and it lasted barely five months. Pitt and his friends were driven out, and a dead-lock ensued. For twelve weeks there was no Government at all; the King being desirous of bringing back Newcastle, but without Pitt, Newcastle being perfectly aware that without Pitt no Administration would stand. At last the King's prejudices gave way, and Newcastle accepted Pitt upon his own terms. There was universal joy in the nation—the funds rose, the City sent addresses to the throne, the hearts of the people were glad. Pitt soon showed that the confidence thus reposed in him was not misplaced. To him was absolutely entrusted the conduct of the war, and he threw himself into it with all his might. He equipped expeditions which more than repaired the disasters of former campaigns. He sent large bodies of English troops to fight in Germany, and recovered Hanover. He swept from the Channel the swarms of privateers which used to infest it. The entire French coast was kept in a state of alarm, and several towns were bombarded. Admiral Boscawen engaged one French fleet off Toulon, and defeated it; Admiral Hawkes, amid the darkness of a tempestuous night, fell upon another off Brest and crushed it. But the most brilliant successes of all were achieved in America, where Quebec was taken, Canada conquered, and the French driven from their last hold upon the Western continent.

It was at this juncture in public affairs that the young King came to the throne, and gave the assurance which has just been referred to. No great while elapsed, however, ere fresh dangers threatened, from encountering which with becoming boldness the majority of the Cabinet shrank. Charles III. succeeded to the throne of Spain, and French influence was immediately exercised, and not without effect, to sway his counsels. He was early persuaded to regard the growing power of England in America as dangerous to his interests. This accomplished, a proposition was made, and acceded to, for the formation of a 'family compact' to which the Kings of France, Spain, and Sicily should be parties: that, as princes descended from a common stock, they should each extend to the subjects of the other the same privileges, both of commerce and protection, which were enjoyed by his own people; and, above all, that an alliance, offensive and defensive, should be contracted on terms so close that the enemies of one might be regarded as the enemies of all. So far the

compact, however dangerous in its tendency, cannot be said to have threatened England more than the other nations of Europe; but there was a remarkable limitation in the extent of these political obligations, of which it was impossible to mistake the meaning. A special article in the treaty provided that Spain should not be bound to support France in any wars arising out of her alliances with German princes, unless 'some of the maritime Powers should interfere,' or France be assailed in her own territories. Now, there was no maritime Power, except England, whose connexion with Germany was of such a nature as to lead to this kind of interference. England, therefore, and England alone, was threatened; while the Germans were assured that an alliance between them and Great Britain would be immediately punished by a rupture with Spain.

To bring to a successful termination so complicated an arrangement could not be other than a work of time, during the progress of which France made frequent overtures towards peace, while she carried on hostilities with great fury. Her diplomatists were ready to negotiate on the basis of a mutual retention of conquests, subject only to such arrangements of exchange and compensation as might afterwards be agreed upon. They would guarantee to England the peaceable possession of Canada; they would leave it to the rival Companies to adjust their own quarrel in India; they would dismantle Dunkirk; restore Minorca (accepting instead of it their own island of Guadaloupe); they would yield everything, in short, except the settlement of dates, from which all questions raised in the course of the negotiation might be considered. But Pitt would agree to no date except that at which the preliminaries should be signed; and the better to convince the enemy that his power was equal to his inclinations, he sent forth an armament, which, after a brave resistance, took possession of the island of Belleisle, in the very mouth of the Loire. Nevertheless, the devices of Louis the Fifteenth were rapidly maturing themselves; so that when the Commissioners met him again, Pitt found in their altered tone subject both of surprise and indignation. Spain had begun of late to manifest strong symptoms of dissatisfaction at the establishment of British trading ports in the Bay of Honduras, and at the right exercised by English subjects of cutting logwood in the West Indies. It was now proposed by the French Minister that

her complaints should be considered along with those of France; and that Spain herself should be invited to act as umpire in a quarrel to which she would thus in some sort become a party. Pitt perceived at a glance the real designs of the 'family compact;' and, announcing to his colleagues that a Spanish war was inevitable, he proposed boldly to take the initiative. But Pitt, having grown more than ever arrogant from success, had by this time become intolerable to the majority of his colleagues. These refused to accede to his wishes, and treated with neglect his threat to resign. Pitt was amazed. He carried his seals of office to the King, from whom he received not the slightest remonstrance or entreaty to retain them. An intrigue, on the contrary, was developed, which had been some time in progress; and a pension being settled on himself, with a title on his wife and his son, he ceased to be a member of an Administration to which he had for three years given the law.

More causes than one contributed to bring about this result. A split had taken place in the great Whig party. Plots and counterplots ensued, not the least remarkable of which was the intrigue of Mr. Fox, afterwards first Lord Holland, to drive the Duke of Newcastle, under whom he served as Secretary of State, from office. Meanwhile, apart from all these factions, a new party was consolidating itself, to which —though not, perhaps, altogether justly—historians have given the name of the Tory party. It took its rise from the differences between George II. and his son, Frederick, Prince of Wales, and professed to base its principles upon the well-known dictum of Lord Bolingbroke, that the King of England ought to be the King of his whole people, and to choose his Ministers from among the most experienced and honest statesmen of the age, without asking whether they were Whigs or Tories. An admirable doctrine this, considered in the abstract, but scarcely reducible to practice even in these times, and still less capable of being acted upon 'when George III. was King.' The ostensible head of this party was John, Earl of Bute, a Scottish noble—one, indeed, of the representative peers of Scotland, possessing little or no borough influence, and destitute of a political following. Bute had been Groom of the Stole to Prince Frederick. He was treated, after the Prince's death, with much kindness by his widow. He may be said to have

directed in a great degree the education of her son, and was held by the young King in high consideration. For his own sake, and for the sake of the principles which he professed, the King was anxious to see Lord Bute in office. There was in the Cabinet great jealousy of the favourite, whose hand was traced in the first intercourse which the Sovereign held with his Ministers. But this did not prevent their intestine differences from coming to a head; and the opportunity of bringing Bute forward presented itself when Pitt's proposal to declare war against Spain was rejected, and Pitt himself tendered his resignation. The resignation was, as we have seen, accepted; and in the new Administration, over which the Duke of Newcastle continued to preside, a place, though at first a subordinate one, was found for Lord Bute.

The Government had lost the benefit of Pitt's commanding talents, on the ground that to declare war against Spain would be at once unjust and impolitic. But the lapse of a very brief space sufficed to prove that Pitt's views were the right views. France and Spain now united in a close alliance, left to England no choice, except to strike at both after the opportunity of striking with real effect had passed away. It is fair to add, however, that, war being once determined upon, hostilities were conducted on a scale, and with a vigour, not unworthy of the nation. To Portugal, invaded from Spain, because she refused to break with England, 10,000 British troops were sent, which, being well commanded, gave such a preponderance to the Portuguese armies that they drove the enemy in triumph across the frontier. At the same time the honour of the English arms was well maintained in Westphalia, where, at the battle of Warburg, the Marquis of Granby greatly distinguished himself, and Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, under whom he served, achieved a brilliant victory. But the most important successes of all, so far as they affected English interests properly so called, were achieved in the Western hemisphere. There, Martinique, with whatever else remained to them of their West Indian possessions, was wrested from the French, and the great island of Cuba passed out of the hands of the Spaniards. These reverses, together with the reduction of Manilla in the East and the command thereby obtained over the whole of the Philippine Islands, not to speak of the exposure of the rich province of Peru to invasion when-

ever it might suit the convenience of the English to enter upon the undertaking, so humbled the pride and broke the strength of France and Spain that they lay, so to speak, at the mercy of the enemy whom they had provoked. But English counsels were by this time directed by a new Minister. Bute had rapidly undermined whatever influence Newcastle still retained with his royal master, and was himself become the head of an administration, which, professing to seek the extinction of party differences altogether, failed to command the cordial support of any party. The consequence was, that the House of Commons proved unwilling to vote the supplies necessary for continuing the war, and Bute, driven into a corner, made a virtue of necessity, and avowed his conviction that peace, even if it were disadvantageous, was better than a costly though successful war. He made overtures to the courts of Versailles and Madrid, which were eagerly listened to. On February 10, 1763, a treaty was signed in Paris, the terms of which, when they came to be promulgated, filled all England with indignation. Cuba was restored to Spain in exchange for Florida, and Guadaloupe, Martinique, and Belleisle were given back to France on receiving a formal cession of Canada and an assurance that Dunkirk would be dismantled.

The immediate consequence of the Peace of Paris was the expulsion of Lord Bute from office. He had long been the butt of party writers, who laid to his charge many faults of which he was not guilty, yet his incapacity to conduct the affairs of a nation, circumstanced as England then was, became apparent immediately on his accession to power. A new Government was in consequence formed, with Mr. George Grenville at its head. Painstaking and punctual in business, in private life irreproachable and even religious, Grenville was yet afflicted with infirmities of mind and temper, which altogether unfitted him for the post to which he had been raised. He aimed at ruling with absolute authority, not the nation only, but the King likewise. He brought down upon himself and his royal master a storm of unpopularity by the unwise prosecution of one[1] whose writings were indeed offensive both to good taste and good morals, but to crush whom the law was perverted, and the House of Commons prevailed upon to exceed its legitimate powers. Over and over again the King did his best to get rid of this imperious Minis-

[1] John Wilkes, of whom more hereafter.

ter. Over and over again recourse was had to Pitt to aid the sovereign in his perplexities. But before any satisfactory result could be arrived at, Mr. Grenville took a step which involved the country at once in grave difficulties and ultimately brought upon it disaster and disgrace.

Frederic II., after the Seven Years' War.

Frederic, after the Seven Years' War, found Prussia ravaged and desolate, and the population decreased by one-ninth. He was as great in peace, however, as in war, and worked hard to restore prosperity. The artillery horses were divided into teams, and distributed for ploughing; money was allowed for seed and rebuilding houses. Silesia, which had suffered most severely, was released from taxes for six years, Pomerania for two. Land banks, which lent money on land security, were established, and the police system was restored. Thus, in seven years, Prussia was flourishing and prosperous again. During the remainder of Frederic's lifetime, except for one brief interval, there was peace, and he engaged himself in reorganising internal affairs. The coinage, debased during the war, was restored. The law was also reformed, and Frederic's code is used in Prussia to this day.

The most notable event of the latter part of his reign was the Partition of Poland. At this time Poland was in a most troublous state. The monarchy was elective, and always a source of dissension. The nobles, split into factions, were constantly quarrelling amongst themselves, whilst the serfs and poor people were in the most wretched condition. The diet (or Polish parliament) could not get any reform effected, owing to a strange law which gave each member the power of veto on any measure, so that if one man objected all business was stopped. When the Polish king died, in 1763, matters got worse and worse, and after a long period of anarchy, the three great and ambitious neighbouring monarchs—Frederic of Prussia, Catherine of Russia, and Joseph of Austria—thought it a good opportunity for interference; they therefore each took a large slice of territory (1772). Later on, the rest of Poland was divided, and the name disappeared entirely from the map of Europe. Much has been written about this partition. It most certainly set a bad example for other nations, but, on the other hand, affairs had come to such a dead-lock, that all orderly government there seemed impossible. At all events the part that fell to Prussia changed for the better. Frederic lost no time. Taxes were made more equal, workmen of all sorts were sent out there; new police restored order and safety, and schoolmasters were distributed over the country. Best of all, perhaps, freedom of worship was instantly given to the oppressed Protestants. Cities grew and canals were dug, and Posen was soon a changed place. Frederic in his last years became the centre and head of a confederation of German princes (Fürstenbund) for resisting the encroachments of Austria. He seems to have admired the ambitious and able young emperor

Joseph; but he was always a determined opponent of anything like a restoration of the imperial power, which was Joseph's dearest wish. Frederic remained as firm and able a ruler as ever till his death in 1786. It is, however, much to be regretted that the monarch, who possessed so many noble qualities, should have been destitute of that without which there can be no peace at the last. He was an unbeliever, and for many years of his life the friend and correspondent of Voltaire.

Joseph II.

Joseph was born at the commencement of the first Silesian war, and became emperor in 1765. During the early part of his reign, however, he had little share in the government, as his mother, the famous Empress Maria Theresa, kept affairs principally in her own hands. The reorganisation of the army was entrusted to him, and, like Peter the Great, he spent his time in travelling and seeing naval and military establishments, law courts, and manufactures. When his mother died in 1780, he was able to launch out with his numerous projects. The empire over which he ruled was most diverse in customs, situation, and interests. No less than ten different languages were spoken in it. His darling wish was to make a compact kingdom, and perhaps finally to build up again the Western Empire with something of the influence and glory of former times. But his reforms had the opposite effect. He angered the Church by the Edict of Toleration, and the suppression of some of the monasteries at a time when the Church was the one bond which connected the empire. The clergy had all the schools in their hands, and taught loyalty and obedience; imagine the result, then, of displeasing the clergy. He angered the nobility by the abolition of feudal vassalage, and by trying to improve the condition of the serfs. He introduced other reforms, too, such as the partial removal of the censorship of the press, and the establishment of libraries and new schools, besides innovations in trade and commerce, which roused the indignation and fear of his conservative subjects. The only class that really seemed to regret his death were the peasants, whose condition he had greatly improved. His great fault seems to have been over-haste; he thrust his reforms on the country before it was ready. He was ambitious; but there is no doubt he was well-meaning. In France he might have prevented the Revolution, but in the disjointed remains of the German Empire it was a different matter. His changes caused discontent everywhere, and in Hungary and the Netherlands open rebellion.

His wars with the Turks were as unfortunate as his projects of reform; and he died thoroughly broken-hearted and worn-out, in 1790.

Frederic the Great said of him: 'a man of great ability, but he has the fault of generally taking the second step without having taken the first.'

CHAPTER II.

WAR OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

SECTION I.—ITS CAUSES.

THE sudden end of the Seven Years' War and the return to peace proved eminently disadvantageous. All parts of the country swarmed with men destitute of the means of support, and accustomed to military licence; many of whom, betaking themselves to North America, contributed not a little to increase the dissatisfaction which already prevailed there. For the colonists in America were, and long had been, very peculiarly situated. They had largely increased in numbers—they felt, and perhaps over-estimated, their own importance, and were in nowise prepared to pay obedience to the decrees of the mother country, further than these might seem to accord with their own interests.

Many causes led to the establishment of colonies, at different periods, on the continent of America. In the beginning, the spirit of private adventure alone led men thither; Government then took the project up; and, by-and-by, religious differences drove multitudes to seek a home where they knew that they should be able, uninjured and unquestioned, to worship God according to the dictates of their consciences. The effect produced by the operation of so many motives was to give to the different colonies constitutions widely dissimilar. Thus the British sovereign appointed to the government of New England, and the whole body of landed proprietors elected a council, which consisted of twenty-eight members. In Rhode Island, the governor and deputy-governor, equally with the council, were chosen by the people; yet they, not less than the Governor of New England, exercised in all criminal cases, with the exception of treason, murder, and piracy, the privilege of pardon.

Philadelphia, again, rose into note under the mild and patriarchal sway of Penn; while Maryland, being the property of the descendants of its founder, Lord Baltimore, was ruled by a governor, a council of twelve, and deputies from districts. Everywhere there was the most absolute freedom of conscience in religious matters; and as the colonists themselves were all inured to the use of arms, many generations passed ere a company of regular soldiers appeared among them. Moreover, the country, which boasts of every variety of climate, and of which the bays and rivers afford the finest harbours in the world, being rich in all the productions of nature, left its hardy inhabitants nothing to desire which their own industry could fail to supply. Such was America down to the close of the Seven Years' War: the British sway was extended from the Mississippi to the farthest point of Labrador; and such it might have continued to be, had there not sprung up a spirit of jealousy on the one hand, and of wounded pride on the other, which led first to coldness, then to aversion, and finally to a severance from the parent stem of the noblest branch which the British oak ever has, or probably ever will be able to put forth.

The heavy expenses occasioned by the late war, and the great increase of the national debt, induced the Government to look anxiously for new sources from which a revenue might be derived. While prosecuting this inquiry they discovered that the British settlers in America had long been in the habit of carrying on an illicit commerce with those of France and Spain; and as there still prevailed an unkindly feeling towards both countries, strong measures were adopted in order to put a stop to it. The colonists resenting this, desisted from the use of British manufactures, and assigned as a reason that, being cut off from the profits of the contraband trade, they could no longer afford to pay for them. Now, as there was no design on the part of the Minister (Grenville) to inflict wanton injury on the colonists, he resolved, after consulting with their agents, to modify his plans, and, instead of the duty required on French and Spanish goods, to raise a revenue from the use of stamps, which were declared by Act of Parliament to be essential to the validity of law-deeds, as well in America as in England. Expenses had been incurred in the defence of the North American colonies: this revenue was to defray them. Great was the ferment excited

on the other side of the Atlantic when the passing of the Stamp Act became known. The leaders of the people met in Congress; flags were hoisted on masts and steeples, as on occasions of mourning; and it was decreed, as if by the will of one man, that no commercial nor legal intercourse could be maintained with Great Britain while the obnoxious law should continue in force.

In 1765, Grenville's ministry, which had proposed the Stamp Act, fell, but not because it had proposed it: rather from a personal dislike that the King felt towards the overbearing manners of the premier. Through his uncle, the Duke of Cumberland, the King appealed to Pitt again to form a ministry, but he was prevented partly by ill-health, and partly by the refusal of his brother-in-law to join him. The Duke of Cumberland then turned to the other Whigs who were in opposition, and formed out of them a Government, by no means strong, under the Marquis of Rockingham—a nobleman of stainless honour, but of no ability, and with little political experience. His private secretary was a young man of great talent, whose stores of knowledge helped the Minister no little, named Edmund Burke. The feeling that had been roused in America, helped by the opposition of Pitt, soon brought about the repeal of the Stamp Act; but the Ministers showed that they yielded with reluctance, by inducing the Legislature at the same time to pass a formal resolution that it was competent for the British Parliament to tax and otherwise control the trade and internal affairs of the American colonies. Shortly after the session of Parliament, Lord Rockingham was dismissed. His government had fallen, partly through its own weakness, partly through the opposition of Pitt. The new Premier was the Duke of Grafton, but it was intended that the chief support of the Administration should be Pitt, the Great Commoner, whose name was respected all over the world. But Pitt had been very ill, and was still suffering from illness when he took office. Unequal to the labours of the House of Commons, he accepted a peerage, and became Earl of Chatham. From that day his popularity left him.

If Lord Chatham had continued in health, and in the full possession of his faculties, his influence in the Cabinet would have probably prevented the measures which brought about the American War. In his absence from illness, Charles Townshend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, a man of wonderful endow-

ments, dashed with follies and indiscretion, gay, volatile, and fickle, whom Chatham mistrusted, and whose views were opposed to those of Chatham on the American question, proposed and carried in the House a duty on tea, glass, paper, and painter's colours whenever they should be imported into the colonies. The indignation in America rose to boiling-point; the colony which was strongest in its expression was Massachusetts. It happened, moreover, that there was a bitter feud between the inhabitants of its capital, Boston, and their Governor.

The Americans had other grounds of complaint: that a standing army was kept up amongst them, and that the Crown claimed the right to fix the amount of the salaries of the judges, and thereby kept these functionaries dependent on itself. Yet, though there was much ill blood, the minds of the Americans were not ripe for resistance, and both sides were reluctant to proceed to extremities. The duty on tea was imposed in 1767, yet it was not until six years later that the first overt acts of hostility took place.

Early in 1770, shrinking from the storm, the Duke of Grafton threw up his office, and the King called Lord North to his councils as Prime Minister. This was the fourth Administration within five years, but now the changes were over. In Lord North King George had a Minister after his own heart, and both of them were obstinately opposed to the claims of the colonies. Lord North remained in office twelve years. In the spring of the year, a riot, attended by considerable bloodshed, took place at Boston, caused by the insolence of the soldiers, and the want of firmness in those who commanded them. When the news was known in England, Chatham, in a brief interval of returning health, spoke strongly for the repeal of the duties. Lord North consented to let them all go except the tea duty. The retention of this, however, involving the whole principle, kept up the irritation of the Americans. And the people of Boston, to which harbour the first cargoes charged with the duty chanced to be conveyed, determined on the following bold plan of showing their hostility. A body of young men, disguised like Mohawk Indians, suddenly boarded the ships. They soon overcame the opposition of the crews, and bursting open the holds, seized the tea, and in spite of a fire of artillery from the batteries, cast it into the sea without scruple. A prodigious sensation was created both at

home and abroad by this daring act. In America, public opinion ran strongly in its favour, and in every colony there were leaders ready and willing to prompt even to more daring exploits. In England, men's sentiments were more divided, for the opposition was then powerful; and if they did not openly applaud, they were at least exceedingly delicate in condemning a transaction, of which their own leaders were in part the cause.

Lord North, however, and the Government, determined to treat the affair as an act of open rebellion. Severe resolutions were passed by both Houses of Parliament. Bills were brought in and carried, to deprive the colony of Massachusetts of its charter, and to shut up entirely the harbour of Boston.

The truth, however, is, that the American character was at this period very unfairly estimated in the British senate. The people were spoken of as a vile race, factious, yet cowardly, to overcome whom nothing more was required than a show of firmness; nay, it was more than insinuated that the jealousies between the several States were such as to relieve England from the trouble of interference except by enactments. How completely they who held these sentiments were deceived, the lapse of a short time sufficed to demonstrate.

There had been delegates appointed from most of the colonies, who met and passed regulations for the general management of trade. The people had been required to abstain from the use of foreign commodities, and in defiance of the allurements of custom and court favour, they had obeyed; when General Gage, who was now Governor of Massachusetts, drew together three or four regiments in Boston, with a view to overawe a place which was not unfairly accounted the very focus of rebellion. This occurred in the autumn of 1774; and the measure was esteemed prudent, because of the threatening attitude which, in various quarters, the people had begun to assume. No blood had, however, been shed, if we except that of a few persons killed in a riot; when, in the month of April, 1775, Gage determined to destroy a magazine of warlike stores, which a self-elected body, called the committee of supplies, had established outside the town. There was at this time no House of Assembly sitting, that body having been dissolved by the Governor; nevertheless, the individuals who composed it continued to meet at a place called Concord; and their edicts were received as laws by the inhabi-

tants of the province. Great indignation was accordingly expressed, as soon as the Governor's intention became known, as well as an anxiety that matters should be brought to an issue. The militia of Lexington and Concord ran to arms; and when a detachment of British troops reached the village of Lexington, they found the court-house, and the enclosures near, occupied in force. A skirmish began, which lasted, with partial interruptions, during the whole of the day; and which, though it did not hinder the troops from executing their orders, compelled them to fight their way back to Boston. The list of casualties in this encounter comprised, on the side of the King's soldiers, sixty-five men killed, and one hundred and eighty wounded; the loss to the rebels, who fought with judgment from behind walls and fences, was not so considerable. But its consequences to both sides were far more terrible than the events of the moment disclosed. From that time the civil war began, and a war more ruinous to the lives and properties of British subjects has happily never been waged.

Section II.

The Course of the War to the French Alliance.

For some time previous to this collision, the heads of the malcontents in America had considered calmly and determinately the issue in which events must result. No sooner, therefore, was the affair of Lexington made public than a general movement took place, and an army, undisciplined, doubtless, but numerous, resolute, and well-armed, blocked up the neck of land on which Boston is situated. In other quarters, also, the same spirit prevailed. Already had many of the governors of colonies been driven to seek for safety on board ship, and the forts were in most places put in a state of defence, as if an enemy had been in the country. Yet the commanders of some forts on the Canadian frontier permitted themselves to be surprised; and the rebels acquired confidence, both there and elsewhere, from the facility with which their first successes were obtained.

It was a great misfortune to England that the guardians of her colonial interests were almost all weak men. General Gage, in particular, was eminently ill-qualified for the part which he had to play. Instead of attacking the rebels at once, he confined

himself absurdly to the town of Boston, and although his strength had been increased by the arrival of reinforcements from England, he did not venture to come to blows till it was discovered, by the firing of a sloop of war one morning, that the rebels had seized a height called Breed's Hill, close to the town, and were covering it with intrenchments. He then attacked the enemy's position, suffered fearfully in the contest, but succeeded at last in driving them from the heights. This affair, which has ever since been erroneously called the battle of Bunker's Hill, cost the English upwards of a thousand men in killed and wounded, whereas the Americans counted something less than five hundred in their lists of both.

There were now thirteen colonies united in a determination to assert their independence; in other words, to vindicate, even by force of arms, their country from the liability of paying taxes to the King at the will of a British parliament. As yet not a hint of a separation was dropped; and probably had there been wisdom enough in the rulers of the day either to grant to the colonists a parliament of their own, by creating colonial peers, and issuing writs to colonies as to counties; or supposing this experiment too hazardous, to have collected in the British Houses representatives for America: America might have been to this day an integral part of the empire. Such wisdom, however, was wanting; nor was its place supplied with the more common and humbler degree of talent which is required in sketching out the plan of a vigorous aggressive campaign, and of appointing competent officers to carry it into effect. A force, on the contrary, inadequate to the conquest of America, was sent out under incapable leaders, to wage a feeble war, throughout which no advantages were obtained by the English on one part of the arena, without the occurrence of more than counterbalancing losses on the other.

The United States, as they must henceforth be called, were far more fortunate than England in their leaders, especially in him whom they selected as their commander-in-chief. George Washington was the son of a country gentleman, the owner of a small property in Virginia. He entered the colonial militia very young. When only twenty-one, being then a major, he was selected by the Governor of Virginia as envoy to the French, to demand their reasons for invading the British dominions. When

the Seven Years' War broke out, he commanded the Virginia militia. He was with General Braddock in his unfortunate expedition, against the rashness of which he vainly protested. In its disastrous result he had an opportunity of displaying his calmness and intrepidity: he virtually conducted the retreat. He took part also in a later and more successful expedition to Ohio, but was obliged by ill-health to throw up his commission and retire into private life. He was not one of those who were desirous of separating from the mother country, but when the alternative submitted to him was between assenting to the demands of the British Government and supporting the liberties of his country, he threw himself heart and soul into the cause of independence. His reputation already stood so high as a soldier, that the chief command of the insurgent forces was pressed upon him. He accepted it with reluctance; but having drawn the sword, flung away the scabbard. The wisdom and patience of Washington, and the confidence felt in him by the Americans, contributed in no small degree to the result of the war. His character needs no commendation from us: both in public and in private he came as near to perfection as the frailty of human nature permits. He was the purest patriot that ever fought the battles of his country.

The first decisive affair which befell in this unnatural strife, was the evacuation of Boston, in March 1776, by General Howe, to whom Gage had resigned the command. After having been kept for several months in a state of blockade, as honourable to the besieger as it was discreditable to the besieged, Howe found his provisions fail, and withdrew in consequence, not to New York, which was in danger, but to Halifax, where no enemy threatened. This was no sooner known to Washington than, leaving a detachment to secure Boston, he marched to New York, of which, as the feelings of the inhabitants were already enlisted in his favour, he at once obtained possession. To fortify Staten Island, and establish posts along the banks of the Hudson, were with him matters of course. Meanwhile, an attempt was made, under the insurgent generals, Montgomery and Arnold, to annex Canada to the confederacy by the reduction of Quebec. But the enterprise, though conducted with skill, and carried forward to the last with unyielding spirit, entirely failed of success. Montgomery was slain in a fruitless endeavour to

enter the town by escalade, and the rebels, leaving upwards of four hundred men behind them, retreated across the lakes.

The Fourth of July, 1776, was rendered memorable by a frank declaration, on the part of the thirteen colonies, of their political independence. For a while, the boldest of the insurgents hesitated to take this step, which, had it been earlier proposed to them, the multitude would have condemned. But the impolitic refusal of the English Government to take their complaints into consideration so wrought upon the minds of an irritated populace, that they acceded to the wishes of their chiefs without a murmur. An attempt to reduce Charleston, in South Carolina, under the guidance of General Clinton had failed, and there had been warm but indecisive fighting in the north, when a document declaratory of the separation of America from England appeared. It stated various grounds of offence, besides appealing generally to those laws of nature which authorise, according to the logic of the deed, 'one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another;' and it wound up by declaring that, 'with a firm reliance on Divine Providence, the Americans mutually pledged to each other their lives, their fortune, and their sacred honour.' Thus from the sword, already drawn, was the scabbard cast away, and there remained no alternative between absolute success and total discomfiture to either of the belligerents.

The attitude assumed by the colonists had not failed to produce an impression both upon the Cabinet and upon its supporters in both Houses of Parliament. Troops were hired for service in America, from the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel and other German princes; while a body of twenty thousand British soldiers was ordered to proceed without delay to the same destination. Yet August 2 arrived ere the army under General Howe disembarked on Long Island, and the 26th had passed before any blow was struck. On the morning of the 27th, however, Howe attacked Washington in his lines before Brooklyn, and obtained a signal success. Had he followed it up with ordinary diligence, Washington, with all his forces, must have surrendered, instead of which he was permitted to cross the estuary that divides Staten Island from New York without molestation. He did not, indeed, attempt to hold the city—an enterprise to which his numbers were incompetent; neither was he rash enough to hazard a second

action on the open plains; but he conducted his retreat with great skill and regularity, till he had placed the Delaware between him and his pursuers. Nevertheless, the results of the campaign were in every respect favourable to the English, whose proclamations brought over many timid yet influential adherents from the side of independence; so that, when both parties went into quarters, late in December, there were very few persons in whom a conviction was not excited that the close of the war could not possibly be distant.

To ensure the full accomplishment of that anticipation, no more was needed than an ordinary display of talent and activity on the part of the British generals. The failure of the attack upon Quebec had so dispirited the insurgents in the north, that with great difficulty they maintained themselves on Lake Champlain. In the south the Royalists had been for the first two months neither less numerous nor less influential than the Republicans, while the central States, though bitterly hostile in their feelings, seemed broken in spirit by the reverses of their army. But Howe fell, during the season of repose, into innumerable errors. He scattered his troops along a line of cantonments so extensive as to place one corps beyond the reach of support from another, and thus presented to Washington opportunities which he was too vigilant not to perceive, and a great deal too sagacious to neglect. In the middle of winter the Americans crossed the Delaware on the ice, surprised and cut to pieces a Hessian brigade, and returned without the loss of a man, carrying nine hundred prisoners along with them. Immediately recruits poured in from all quarters to join the rebel standard. Fresh confidence arose in the minds of the soldiers; fresh courage was assumed by the Congress; effects which were not diminished by the issue of a second expedition, and a sharp though doubtful encounter at Princetown. Meanwhile Howe had returned to New York, where he wasted his time in pursuits little creditable under any circumstances, and peculiarly unfitted to his: indeed, it was the month of June 1777 ere he again took the field, or made the feeblest effort to check the growing strength of the enemy.

It was late before the campaign of that year opened. When, however, military operations did begin, they began on a scale of increased magnitude, because the Government saw that the feelings of France and Spain were enlisted on the side of the insur-

gents; and they resolved to put down the rebellion ere a more active co-operation should be afforded. With this view a plan was arranged for securing, by the Hudson or North River, a direct communication between Canada and New York: a scheme which, if successful, would, it was presumed, facilitate the subjugation in detail of the disaffected provinces. To General Burgoyne, himself the author of the project, was intrusted the office of carrying it into effect. There were placed under his orders seven thousand men—the very choicest of the British and German soldiery—while the addition of a corps of Canadians and a body of Indians swelled his whole army to ten thousand. With these he took the field in July; and after driving the Americans from Ticonderoga, and possessing himself of Fort Edward, which they made no attempt to defend, he prepared to force a passage for himself through the wilderness, as far as Albany.

Meanwhile General Howe had assembled his troops in New Jersey, where he carried on for many weeks an unprofitable war of marches. Being unable, however, to force his vigilant antagonist to action, he withdrew within the lines of New York, where he soon afterwards embarked about sixteen thousand men, and sailed first to the mouth of the Delaware, and eventually to the Chesapeak. His avowed object was to create a diversion in Burgoyne's favour, by drawing off the American army for the defence of Philadelphia; and he so far succeeded that Washington broke up hastily from his camp at Middlebrook, and marched to a new position on the Brandywine.

This is a stream, or as the Americans call it a 'creek,' made by the union of two branches, and flowing into the Delaware. General Howe formed his army in two divisions—one to attack the enemy in front, the other, under Lord Cornwallis, to cross the river by the forks, and attack the enemy in flank and rear. The discomfiture of the Americans was complete. Howe's army, after another successful engagement, was enabled to occupy Philadelphia, where he established himself for the winter, and there pursued, as if in profound peace, his customary amusements.

Howe's movement, though creditable to the courage of the troops, so far failed of its object that, from the force which had been collected under General Gates to oppose Burgoyne, and which blocked up the way between Fort Edward and Albany, not a man was recalled. On the contrary, the strength of the rebels increased

from hour to hour, while that of the invaders was in an almost equal proportion diminished; the effect partly of the severe hardships which they were unavoidably called upon to endure, and partly of the weakness and general misconduct of their leaders. After having expended the whole of the open season in accomplishing a march from the head of Lake Champlain to a place called Still-water; after having sacrificed two divisions of his best troops in a vain attempt to surprise an American magazine; after having ascertained that a detached force had been defeated, and that Fort Oswego on the St. Lawrence was not taken, Burgoyne found himself in a situation which left to him no alternative between a complete victory or total annihilation. He fought two brave battles—the first at Still-water, the last at Saratoga—and, being worsted in both, surrendered himself and his troops as prisoners on capitulation.

Section III.

Course of the War from the French Alliance to the Peace.

Intelligence of the surrender of Burgoyne was carried to Europe, where at all the courts, but especially those of London and Paris, it produced the most stirring effect. The French Government, which had neither forgotten nor forgiven the disgraces and misfortunes of the former war, listened to the tale with delight. They had long opened their harbours to American cruisers, and afforded a ready market for the sale of American prizes; they now turned a favourable ear to the arguments of Dr. Franklin,[1] who had been commissioned to solicit a recognition of American independence, and to negotiate an alliance between the two countries. The envoy was successful, and a treaty of amity and commerce, as well as a treaty of defensive alliance between France and the United States, was signed at Paris. This proceeding tended in no degree to lighten the anxiety of the British Cabinet. Still Lord North determined

[1] Benjamin Franklin, one of the most remarkable men of his day—originally a printer, he turned his attention to science, and was the first to settle the fact that lightning and electricity are the same. His experiment with a kite is well known. His writings were as varied as they were remarkable, ranging from 'The Sayings of Poor Richard' to treatises on Natural Science, and on the Constitution of the United States.

to persevere. He first brought in a bill to repeal the obnoxious Tea Act, and issued instructions to concede to the Colonies the whole of their original demands; but finding that measures of conciliation were now out of season, he resolved to put forth the whole strength of the country in the struggle. War was declared against France, and the utmost exertions were made to equip such a fleet as might ensure to England at its commencement her usual superiority at sea.

Weary of the burdens which so unsatisfactory a contest imposed upon them, there were not wanting individuals in both Houses of Parliament who began already to advocate the wisdom of purchasing peace, even by the acknowledgment of American independence. On April 7, 1778, the Duke of Richmond, while supporting an address to the throne, spoke strongly in favour of the measure. He described it as not only politic but just, as not only just but necessary; and as notice had been given of his intentions, there was a very full assemblage of peers to listen to his oratory. Among others, William Pitt, now Earl of Chatham, who had but lately recovered from his serious illness, resolved to attend, and was led into the House supported on one side by his son, on the other by his son-in-law. From the first he had protested against the system of policy pursued towards the Colonies, and, in language often too unmeasured, had foretold the end. Hardly a year before, he had himself proposed measures of conciliation towards America. But now that France, his ancient foe, had joined America, all was changed. He rose, at the conclusion of the Duke of Richmond's address, to denounce both its spirit and its object. 'I rejoice,' said he, 'that the grave has not closed upon me, that I am still alive to lift up my voice against the dismemberment of this ancient and noble monarchy. Pressed down as I am by a load of infirmity, I am little able to assist my country in this most perilous conjuncture; but, my Lords, while I have sense and memory I will never consent to tarnish the lustre of the nation by an ignominious surrender of its rights and fairest possessions. Shall a people so lately the terror of the world now fall prostrate before the House of Bourbon? Is it possible? I am not, I confess, well informed of the resources of this kingdom; but I trust it has still sufficient to maintain its just rights, though I know them not. Any state, my Lords, is better than despair.

Let us at last make one effort; and, if we must fall, let us fall like men.' The Duke of Richmond then appealed to the venerable nobleman to point out how the Americans were to be persuaded to renounce their claims; 'because,' continued he, 'if the noble Earl fail in this, no man need attempt it.' Immediately Lord Chatham rose again; but ere a word was uttered, he pressed his hand upon his breast and fell to the ground in a fit. The House was immediately cleared. Chatham was conveyed home, and on May 11 he expired. His remains were honoured with a public funeral, his debts paid by the nation, and an annuity of four thousand pounds out of the Civil List was settled on the Earldom.

The military events of 1778 were not very important, either in Europe or America. On July 27, a British fleet of thirty sail, under Admiral Keppel, engaged off Brest thirty-two ships of superior force, when many lives were lost on both sides, but victory declared for neither. Meanwhile a second French squadron, under the Count d'Estaing, which had sailed from Toulon with troops early in April, arrived, without having sustained any damage, at the mouth of the Delaware. It was the object of that expedition to block up the English fleet in the river, and thus give to Washington so decided a superiority by land as might enable him to act on the offensive. But the English Government, which had from the first anticipated some such movement, was not taken by surprise. Orders had been early issued to evacuate Philadelphia, and to concentrate both the fleet and the army at New York; and General Clinton, on whom the command devolved, in consequence of Howe's resignation, was not loth to obey. When, therefore, d'Estaing, whom a long series of baffling winds had detained, made his appearance in July, there was not an English pennant flying in the river, nor an English soldier within miles of the place. The retreat of Clinton, conducted in the face of the enemy, had been attended with various skirmishes, in most of which the discipline and valour of the British troops prevailed. Neither his future operations, however, nor those of the other actors in the strife were marked during the continuance of the summer by any great incident. At sea, Admiral Howe, a brother of the General's, and d'Estaing jealously observed one another, till a storm damaged both fleets, and compelled them to refit. On shore, many petty operations, some of them more remarkable for barbarity than courage, wore out the

season. Such enterprises, however, contributed in no degree to affect the issue of a war which, it became more and more evident, was only just beginning, and out of which the most sanguine scarcely ventured any longer to expect that Great Britain would be able to extricate herself except with dishonour.

In 1779, Spain, as had for some time been apprehended, made common cause with France and America; and a combined French and Spanish fleet rode triumphant in the Channel, blockading that of England in the harbour, and threatening a descent upon the coasts. This was followed by a close investment of Gibraltar by sea and land; while at home discontents from various causes burst forth here and there, which were not repressed till after serious injury had been done, both to the moral character of the people and the influence of their rulers. The passing of a Bill in favour of the English Roman Catholics induced some gentlemen in Scotland to propose its extension to that country in the ensuing session. Immediately the populace took the alarm, and there were mobs both in Edinburgh and Glasgow, which burned Catholic chapels, destroyed houses belonging to Catholic individuals, and committed other excesses. Not daring to oppose so decided a display of popular feeling, the Minister abandoned his design, which he was the more ready to do in consequence of the feverish and unsettled state of Ireland. The sole link of connexion, indeed, between the two islands consisted in those families of English descent whom different sovereigns had settled as colonists in Ireland, and of whom very few had as yet learned to look upon themselves except as tenants of their lands and honours by right of their swords. In the hands of these settlers, being Protestants, all political power was vested; and in all its enactments, the Irish Parliament, a body proverbially corrupt and subservient, looked only to the promotion of English interests, or submitted without a murmur to regulations emanating from that in London, which imposed the most iniquitous and impolitic restrictions on every branch of Irish commerce. The consequence was, that a people, between whom and their natural leaders no cordiality prevailed, put themselves without hesitation into the hands of demagogues and priests, who wrought upon their prejudices, as well civil as religious, and prepared them for any attempt which it might be esteemed safe to make.

The dread of a French invasion had induced the Government

to sanction the arming of the whole of the male population of Ireland, and for a while they met, were trained in military exercises, and returned peaceably home again, at the seasons appointed by the constituted authorities, and in obedience to the will of their officers. The Volunteers, however, became gradually aware that their fate was in their own hands; that now, if at no previous period, they were in a condition to give the law; and that to lay down their arms till they had obtained a full redress of all their grievances would be to commit treason against themselves and against their children. Eighty thousand armed men demanded a free Parliament, with the repeal of certain obnoxious laws relating to the trade of the country; and well it was for the United Kingdom that they demanded no more. Their requests were granted, and a cloud which threatened at one moment to bring ruin upon the empire passed away without bursting.

The affairs of Ireland were yet in a very unsettled state, when London itself became the scene of a disturbance, to which, on account of the violence which accompanied it, and the imbecility displayed by the Government, it would be difficult to find an exact parallel in the annals of any civilized city. Lord George Gordon, the brother of the Duke of Gordon, a man vain, cunning, enthusiastic, and a member of the House of Commons, succeeded in raising a cry against the encroachments of Popery, for which there was no just ground. This appeal was responded to, first in Scotland, and by-and-by, with similar results, in the capital. At the head of twenty thousand men, whom he assembled in St. George's Fields, Gordon marched to present a petition against the obnoxious measure to the House of Commons; and took care to inflame the passions of the mob, by repeating, from time to time, the substance of speeches delivered, and giving the names of the speakers. No sooner was it made known to the people that the petition had been rejected by a large majority, than they exhibited violent symptoms of dissatisfaction. The magistrates and military interfered; but the latter having been withdrawn, with a view of conciliation, the people hurried off in a body to Golden Square and Lincoln's Inn Fields, where they pulled down two Roman Catholic chapels; after which they dispersed. But on the morrow new crowds came together, many private houses were demolished, Newgate was burst open, the prisoners set free, and the building consumed with fire. Then were the spirit-cellars

and wine-shops ransacked, while ruffians, inflamed to madness by strong liquor, carried fire, havoc, and confusion into all quarters of the city. At length the authorities, who appeared for a time to be wholly unnerved, called out the troops. By a heavy fire of musketry the rioters were dispersed; and the tumult was put down at the expense of some hundreds of lives, besides a large amount of property pillaged or destroyed. For the share which he had in exciting this disturbance, Lord George Gordon was committed to the Tower; and escaped further punishment only in consequence of the impossibility of convicting him of the crime of treason, on which charge he stood accused.

While these events were in progress at home, General Sir William Clinton conducted the war in America with the same absence both of vigour and of consistency which had characterized the proceedings of General Howe. After wasting the summer of 1779 in fruitless excursions from New York, he undertook, in 1780, an expedition to South Carolina, of the capital of which (Charleston) he made himself master, after a gallant defence of nearly two months. This done he resigned the command in the south to Lord Cornwallis, who, with very inadequate means, reduced the province to obedience, after defeating the insurgents in several encounters, particularly at Camden, on its northern border. In this by far the most active of all the campaigns throughout the war, Cornwallis was ably supported by Colonel Tarleton, a dashing leader of a corps of partisans, and a skilful chief in light warfare. But the events which rendered that summer peculiarly memorable, were of a more private nature than the feats of armies, though equally deserving narration.

Episode of Major André.

There was in the insurgent service a general officer named Arnold, a man of tried courage and more than ordinary talents, whom a court-martial found guilty on a charge of peculation, and sentenced to receive a reprimand from the commander-in-chief. Proud, violent, and jealous, Arnold never forgave this treatment, which, whether merited or not, he ascribed to the influence of General Washington; indeed, the sense of private wrong so completely overcame every other feeling, that he began immediately to intrigue with Sir William Clinton. At this time the

British and American armies lay in position; the one within the lines of King's-bridge, and the intrenchments at New York; the other among the strong ground which stretches from the Hudson on the left to the mountains on the right. Of the latter position the key was West Point, a strong redoubt planted above the western ridge of the river, upon a route perfectly inaccessible except by one narrow causeway. It so fell out that Arnold, whom Washington greatly desired to conciliate, was nominated, at his own desire, to the command of West Point. His design in seeking this charge was, that he might betray it to the English, and thereby enable them at once to turn the American lines, and open out a safe and direct communication by water with Canada. Many notes and messages had passed between West Point and New York, which, however, left certain articles to be arranged on Arnold's part, so delicate in their nature, as well as so complex, that a formal interview between him and some one possessing the confidence of General Clinton, was held to be necessary. Major André, a high-spirited and accomplished young officer, who acted as quarter-master-general to the English army, volunteered to meet General Arnold, and bring matters to a crisis. With this view he embarked on board a sloop of war, called the Vulture, and proceeded to an anchorage about twelve miles below West Point; whence it was arranged that he should be conveyed by a boat to a convenient place upon the beach, and there hold his conference with Arnold.

On the night of September 21, a boat rowed by four country-people came alongside the Vulture; and André, dressed in his uniform as an English officer, stepped into it. He was carried to the appointed spot, where Arnold met him; but, for some reason or other, which has never been satisfactorily explained, Arnold declined to enter upon business there, and insisted upon his going to the house of one Smith, a stanch loyalist, who occupied a farm within the lines of the American army. André spent that night and the whole of the next day in Smith's house, at the close of which he expressed an anxiety to return; and Arnold having furnished him with plans and other necessary documents, the confederates parted. A serious difficulty had, however, arisen. The boatmen refused to take André off; inasmuch as the Vulture, having been fired upon from a battery on shore, had been compelled to shift her station, and all

their efforts to procure fresh rowers failed. After a good deal of uneasy consultation, it was determined that André should return to New York by land—a hazardous step at the best, and particularly distasteful to André, who had never contemplated the possibility of his being thrown into a situation which could expose him to the hazard of being mistaken for a spy.

The next thing to be done, was to supply the young soldier with such a disguise as might insure to him an unchallenged passage beyond the outposts. Mr. Smith accordingly lent him a great coat, which he drew on over his uniform, and Arnold made out a pass for John Anderson, under which name, accompanied by Mr. Smith on horseback, he left the guards, and even the outermost sentinels behind. But he had not long parted from Smith, and was already within a short distance of the British picquets, when three American stragglers met him, and one seizing his bridle, insisted on carrying him back, that he might be examined by the officer on duty. Had André possessed the presence of mind which on other occasions seems to have been habitual to him, he might have eluded even this danger, pressing as it was, for his passport signed by Arnold was in his pocket; unfortunately, however, being misled by a statement on the part of the Americans, that 'they belonged to down below,' he exclaimed, 'And so do I, I am a British officer!' In a moment he became their prisoner; for they rejected the offer of his purse, his watch, and other property; and being carried by them into the thicket, he was searched, and his whole plot discovered.

To conduct him back to the nearest outposts, and hand him over, with his papers and plans as they were found, was the duty of these three stragglers; and they discharged it faithfully. André, therefore, felt that his doom was sealed; yet the conviction seems to have restored to him perfect self-possession, which he exercised in an endeavour to save Arnold. Before the American officer, into whose hands he fell, found leisure to examine his papers, he persuaded him to despatch an express to General Arnold, with intelligence that John Anderson was taken. Arnold lost not a moment in providing for his own safety. He fled on the instant; and, escaping on board the Vulture, was conveyed to New York ere his absence from West Point had been discovered. Meanwhile André, being marched back to the headquarters of the American army, underwent a third examination,

during which he frankly acknowledged both the business on which he had come, and the regret which he experienced at its failure. He was forthwith committed to close arrest; and a court-martial being summoned, he was tried as a spy, found guilty, and condemned to suffer death.

Between the period of André's capture and the execution of this sentence, there was an interval of a week, during which an event occurred not unworthy of mention. Washington had several agents in New York, from whom he received letters, which announced that Arnold's treachery was shared with other officers of rank, and particularly with one in whom he greatly confided. The General became very uneasy: he was anxious, also, to save André, if possible; and he perceived that there was but one method of accomplishing this object, as well as of satisfying his own mind on other heads, namely, by getting Arnold again into his power. With this view he sent for Major Lee, the active and intelligent commander of a distinguished regiment of light horse, and, explaining to him his object, demanded to be informed whether from his corps an agent could be supplied, to whom so delicate a trust might be safely confided. Now Washington's device went so far as to require from his agent a pretended desertion to the enemy—a desertion adventured upon in the sight, as it were, of his own people, and absolutely at the hazard of his own life; this accomplished, the agent was required to hold a confidential correspondence with both friends and foes, keeping each in ignorance that the other was trusted; he was to watch Arnold's movements, and seize and bring him away alive from the heart of a city full of British troops. Not every man is qualified for such an office; and very few, however competent, would be likely, of their own accord, to undertake it; yet Lee found a man, a serjeant-major in his own regiment, named Champe, who, after some hours spent in weighing the dangers against the chances of success, consented to play the perilous game.

The outposts of the American army were held at that time by Lee's cavalry; and in Lee's tent, an hour before midnight, the discussion took place, which ended in Champe's announcing his determination to incur the risk. So far the adventurer possessed some advantages, but the distance between the two armies was great, and the whole of the neutral ground was liable to be visited by patrols, besides being constantly overspread by hosts or

stragglers. Champe, however, entreating his commanding officer to withhold pursuit as long as possible, made up his mind to face these dangers. He accepted three guineas, as a protection against want, set his own watch by that of the colonel, quitted the tent without taking any written paper of security in case of capture, and seizing his cloak, valise, and orderly-book, buckled them upon his horse; he then silently drew the animal from its picket, and, commending himself to the care of Providence, set forward.

Lee, anxious and uncomfortable, threw himself upon his bed, where he had not lain many minutes when the captain of the day broke in to announce to him that there was treason abroad. A dragoon had just been met by a patrol, and instead of answering when challenged, had struck spurs into his horse and galloped off. There was no possibility of mistaking to whom this report related; nevertheless, Lee put a thousand questions to the officer, of which the sole object was to gain time, and thereby afford the fugitive a better chance of escaping; but at last it became necessary to order out a party in pursuit, and a strong patrol quitted the camp a few minutes past twelve o'clock. On went the pursuers, tracking the course of the fugitive by the prints of his horse's hoofs in the moist soil, for a shower had fallen since Champe quitted the camp, and all the horses of Lee's regiment were shod alike. So long as darkness continued their pace was necessarily slow; when the day dawned they took up the trail more easily, and gained upon it. At length, on ascending an eminence, the deserter was seen, riding in the plain beneath at about half a mile's distance. Champe beheld the patrol at the same instant that he became visible to them, and he was not ignorant that more than life was at issue, should he fall into their hands. But it was only by turning suddenly out of the direct road, and avoiding a bridge to which it conducted, that he succeeded in keeping ahead: an advantage which was gradually lost to him, as soon as the movement became apparent. Once more, therefore, the chase was fair and open, in which Champe well knew that he must, sooner or later be beaten, inasmuch as every moment threatened to bring across his path one or other of the plundering parties with which the country swarmed.

The pursuers were gaining rapidly on the fugitive, when they saw him all at once quit the high-road, and turn his horse's head towards the river. While hurrying forward in that direction, he

deliberately unslung his valise, strapped it round his shoulders, drew his sword, and cast away the scabbard. A short gallop carried him to the tall reeds which overhung the banks of the stream, when he sprang from the saddle, left his horse to shift for itself, and rushed forward. Some British galleys, armed with cannon, lay in this bend of the river, to which he made signals of distress at the same time that he plunged into the water, and swam towards them. The movement was not lost upon the English. Their grape and musketry checked the dragoons in pursuit, and Champe was received safely on board. But neither he nor General Washington had calculated the real amount of the difficulties which beset an enterprise so romantic. The supposed deserter reached New York; he was examined and passed muster at Clinton's head-quarters; he opened a communication with the parties to whom he had been commissioned; and for a day or two all things appeared to go well. An order was, however, unexpectedly issued, that this zealous apostate should join an expedition to the southward, and he was actually equipped and hurried on board ship ere he had an opportunity of making his own chief aware of this turn in his fortunes. For many months he served in the English ranks; and when he escaped at last, he found some difficulty, even though supported by the avowed favour of the commander-in-chief, in persuading his original comrades that he had not been a traitor.

Meanwhile, Major André continued within the American lines a prisoner, under sentence of death. It was to no purpose that all the engines of persuasion, promise, and threat were employed to save him; Washington remained deaf to every argument; and André learned to his horror that he was condemned to suffer as a common felon by hanging. Nor was there any circumstance attending his last sad fate which appears to have affected him so deeply. He addressed to Washington a manly, yet touching letter, in which he implored him, by all the sympathy which attaches one soldier to another, that he would 'adapt the mode of his death to the feelings of a man of honour.' But not even to this appeal would the Republican general listen; and André bore his fate with magnanimity. When asked, after the rope had been fastened round his neck, whether he had anything to say, he replied in an unfaltering voice, 'I pray you to bear me witness that I meet my fate like a brave man;' and the waggon being

immediately drawn from beneath him, he died almost without a struggle. His body was interred, in full regimentals, under the tree which served as his gibbet, whence, so lately as 1824, it was removed to England, and laid, with all due honour, among the ashes of England's gallant sons in Westminster Abbey.

The war was still carried on, but from season to season the condition of the English became more gloomy, and their hope of ultimate success more and more obscure. The campaign of 1781 beheld Holland, also, arrayed against them, by which means Great Britain saw herself compelled to maintain, single-handed, a struggle with four great and warlike nations. It is true that both the army and the fleet did their duty. In Gibraltar, which sustained a siege of four years' continuance, General Elliott, the governor, displayed both courage and conduct, destroying with red-hot shot the enemy's bomb-proof flotilla, and beating up their camp by frequent and desperate sallies. Nor was it possible for the Spaniards to cut him off from reinforcements, as long as the sea lay open: and never, not even when nine-and-thirty sail of the line, partly French and partly Spanish, crowded the English Channel, and threatened the commerce of England with destruction, could the King's sailors be restrained from cutting a way for themselves, in any direction, wherever duty required them to steer. In this spirit Admiral Darby not only threw supplies into the beleaguered fortress, but vainly sought to bring the blockading fleet to battle; he then baffled the combined squadrons, which had formed an extensive line from Ushant to the Scilly Isles, and kept them, though inferior in force, so completely in check, that they did not succeed in making any impression on the maritime commerce of the country. These exploits amply sustained the reputation of the British navy. But such actions told little in their general results against the loss of a superiority in the West Indian seas, and the disasters which befell towards the close of the season in America.

Lord Cornwallis, after a brave but hazardous march through South and North Carolina, where he fought a severe battle at Guildford Court-house, and sustained frequent skirmishes, was, in the autumn of 1781, reduced to the necessity of shutting himself up in York Town, in Virginia, where he vainly hoped that such supplies would be afforded as might enable him to act again on the offensive. By this time, however, the French had entered

with zeal into the quarrel; and the Count de Grasse, hastening from the West Indies, brought with him six thousand men, which gave to Washington such a decided superiority in numbers as enabled him to strike boldly on that point which he saw to be weakest. He broke up suddenly towards the end of August from his camp in front of New York, and, passing the Hudson, marched with all speed across the country into Virginia. De Grasse, aware of his intentions, steered for the mouth of the York River, before which he cast anchor, and Washington having previously arrived, York Town became closely invested both by land and sea. Lord Cornwallis made a brave, but not a judicious defence, and was at last driven to surrender on capitulation, the troops becoming prisoners to the Americans, the seamen to the French. So ended, in point of fact, the war of American independence, for the affairs which followed in different parts of the continent were little else than skirmishes.

There arose also at this time a spirit at home which drove Lord North from office. The Whig opposition was very strong both in the numbers and in the eloquence of its supporters. It included not only such men as the Marquis of Rockingham, who became the next Prime Minister—a man of high character, but no ability—and Lord Shelburne, who on his death shortly afterwards succeeded to that office, but Edmund Burke, who had been first brought forward as Lord Rockingham's private secretary, but whom the jealousy of the great Whig families kept out of the Cabinet, Charles James Fox, and William Pitt, the second son of Lord Chatham. These are men whose eloquence has never been surpassed in the House of Commons: and their history in the years that are coming is the history of the English government.

The new Ministry began early to turn its attention to the restoration of a general peace. Not for a moment, however, were the exertions of the country relaxed; indeed, there were achieved this year some of the most memorable exploits to which the whole war had given birth, for it was in 1782 that Admiral Rodney engaged and defeated, off Guadaloupe, the Count de Grasse; that Admiral Howe, besides keeping the ports of Holland in blockade, baffled and out-manœuvred the Dutch navy; that Gibraltar was relieved, with great loss to the enemy, and lasting honour to the governor and his troops; and that in India, on the coast of Africa,

and elsewhere, numerous advantages were obtained. Still, though there might be much in all this to soothe the wounded pride of the nation, there was nothing to compensate for its enormous expenditure of blood and treasure; and hence, both people and ministers desired nothing more ardently than that a speedy end might be put to so unprofitable a contest. In like manner, France began to feel that the war in which she was engaged was not likely to attain for her the great object of her ambition. She had succeeded in alienating the American colonies from the mother country, but was as distant as ever from acquiring a naval and commercial superiority over her rival: the endeavour to secure which had overwhelmed her with debt, which became day by day more distressing. Nor were the sentiments of Spain and of Holland very different on all these points. The former, misled by France into the expectation, now proved to be baseless, of recovering Gibraltar, accounted the reduction of West Florida, and of Minorca, as nothing, more especially when she beheld her marine crushed, in the vain attempt to re-establish her supremacy in Jamaica. The latter mourned over the loss of her most valued settlements, the seizure of her shipping, and the total annihilation of her carrying-trade. Thus were all parties prepared to make great sacrifices, rather than prolong a state of things from which none derived advantage, more especially as the chief point at issue—the acknowledgment of American independence—was felt to be, by the fortune of war, already decided. Even the King, whose reluctance to yield had been the chief difficulty in the way of the restoration of peace, felt that the time had come. When, therefore, commissioners at length met, there was no disposition exhibited in any quarter to enter into prolonged discussions. On September 3, 1783, definite treaties of peace were signed at Versailles between England, France, Spain, Holland, and the United States of America.

Thus ended the most disastrous war in which Great Britain ever was engaged; which, as it had been entered into at the beginning rashly, heedlessly, and wantonly, so was it carried on, at least in the colonies, without either skill or judgment to the last. No doubt peace was both necessary and eagerly sought; but the concessions made to obtain it contrast very strikingly with the high tone which, but a few years previously, Great Britain had assumed in negotiating with the Bourbons. The

independence of the United States, acknowledged the year before, was formally recognized by this treaty. Of the vast empire which England once owned in the western hemisphere nothing now remained except Canada and Nova Scotia. All to the south of these had departed from her, while the independent nation which rose out of the wreck claimed and obtained the right of unlimited fishery on the Banks of Newfoundland. To France, to Spain, and to Holland, likewise, many important cessions were made. The first obtained Tobago and St. Lucia, in the West Indies; St. Pierre and Miquelon, and a limited share in the Newfoundland fishery; all the settlements which had been wrested from her during the war in India, and an abandonment of the claim for the dismantlement of Dunkirk. The second received Minorca, with East and West Florida, as a compensation for the Bahama Islands; the third, Trincomalee, and, with the exception of Negapatam, all the other places which she had lost.

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE TO THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

In order to preserve unbroken the narrative of the American War of Independence, little notice has been taken of the internal affairs of England, or of the persons by whom their course was either directed or disturbed, whether in Parliament or out of it. We have seen, indeed, how the King's endeavour to break down the power of the great Whig families involved both the country and himself in frequent difficulties, and brought about frequent changes of administration. Thus Lord Bute, the Tory, gave place in 1763 to George Grenville, a Whig; Grenville retained office till 1765, when the Duke of Grafton became the ostensible head of a new Government, of which, however, all the real power was wielded by Pitt. But Pitt, who, on returning to office, accepted a peerage, as Earl of Chatham, soon became a martyr to disease, which affected not his bodily frame alone, but his mind, and for long intervals rendered him incapable of attending to business. It was during one of these paroxysms of clouded reason in the great statesman that his colleagues rushed headlong into those measures which brought about an open rupture with the Colonies; after which, resigning their places, they left Lord North the duty of prosecuting a war for which he was not responsible.

The interval between 1760 and 1783 was, however, marked by other incidents which cannot be entirely passed by, though they demand only the briefest notice. We have seen how from time to time popular disturbances broke out—some like the Gordon mobs, springing from sheer ignorance and fanaticism ; others, such as the riots of the Spitalfields weavers, in 1765, originating in the loss of employment; and a third, the most formidable of the whole, the attitude of the Irish volunteers in 1780, which might be based in abstract right, yet can scarcely be commended, much less held up for imitation, where the principle of right is wanting.

A fourth source of rioting and discontent—less excusable than any referred to here—we find in the writings of men, who made use of the press to attain their own objects, without considering whether or no either the feelings of individuals or the public interests might suffer. To one of these we made hasty reference elsewhere. John Wilkes, the son of a distiller in Clerkenwell, sat in Parliament as member for Aylesbury. He led a life so profligate and profane that, in an age notorious for its immorality and scepticism, he made himself conspicuous above his fellows. He was conspicuous, also, for his social qualities, his wit, his engaging manners, his rare self-possession. He attacked Lord Bute and the Court in a journal, to which he gave the name of the 'North Briton,' partly in antagonism to another journal, called the 'Briton,' which supported Bute, and of which Smollett was the conductor, partly with a view to cast ridicule on the nationality of the Minister. His hostility to the Court and the Government, however, did not die out when Bute resigned office. He was even more scurrilous during the administration of George Grenville than he had been while assailing the favourite, and Grenville brought to bear upon him first the full weight of the law stretched beyond equity, and by-and-by the power of Parliament. Wilkes was arrested in the street, and cast into prison, under what is called a general warrant—that is to say, a warrant which specifies no particular offence, and is granted without any accuser. An appeal to the Habeas Corpus Act soon obtained his release, and he continued his scurrility as before.

The next appeal made by Grenville was to the House of Commons; which, though not without violent opposition, voted his expulsion. But in proportion as he provoked the enmity of the Government, Wilkes became the favourite of the ignorant and licentious among the people. Mobs assembled, broke windows, assailed the carriages and persons of those who were obnoxious to them, and threw London into confusion. Nor was the mischief stopped till the troops were called out, and shot down some hundreds of the rioters. Yet Wilkes, like other professed patriots of the day, had all the while his price. Mr. Grenville had many opportunities of silencing him, by the offer of place; what he was too proud to attempt others accomplished, and Wilkes subsided at last into a comparatively harmless member of society.

Another libeller of that age was Charles Churchhill, a poet of no mean repute, but, like Wilkes, whose associate he was, a profligate, though in Holy Orders. His writings, especially his prophecy of famine, gave great offence to the members of the Government, but being above the capacity of a mere mob, did comparatively little harm to those against whom they were directed. The same may be said of the letters of Junius, a series of able and stinging philippics, of which the authorship has as yet hardly been settled, though little doubt can remain on the minds of those who have studied the question, that this honour attaches to the memory of Sir Philip Francis. Of him we shall have more to say when the affairs of India come to be discussed.

It will be seen from all this, that the era between 1760 and 1783 was, both to England and her dependencies, a turbulent one. From the contest which marked the latter years of that period, she retired humbled, as well as discomfited, for not in the greater operations of war exclusively, had she been worsted. Swarms of American privateers hovered along her coasts, and crippled her commerce; one of which was bold enough to sail up the Frith of Forth, and fill Edinburgh with alarm. The commander of that vessel, Paul Jones, carried his hardihood so far, as to engage, muzzle to muzzle, an English cruiser, which, after a severe action, he took, and carried in triumph into a French port. Peace came, however, at last; and the inherent vigour of the English constitution, co-operating with the indomitable energy of the English people, raised the country above its misfortunes, and more than regained for it the place among nations which it had temporarily lost.

One reason for the speedy recovery of England from the blow which she had received was undoubtedly this,—that a younger, and more thoughtful, order of statesmen was coming to the front. Foremost among these we may place Charles James Fox and William Pitt; one the son of that Henry Fox, who, towards the close of his public career, became the first Lord Holland; the other, who inherited not the title, but the commanding talents of the first Earl of Chatham. Fox, being senior to Pitt by ten years, entered before him into public life, yet we speak of them as contemporaries, and associate with them Edmund Burke, though known as an eloquent speaker in Parliament as early as 1766. As a man of genius, Burke was,

perhaps, superior to both; and to the ability of Sheridan, another star in the system of which we are speaking, both parliament and the republic of letters bore testimony. But Burke and Sheridan were men without high connection, and neither, in consequence, ever attained to more than subordinate places in a Whig government.

The son of Henry Fox naturally attached himself to the great Whig houses, with which he was connected both by lineage and sentiment. The son of Chatham, brought up in a less exclusive school, stood by the friends of his father. To these he added many friends of his own, and amongst them the champion of negro freedom, William Wilberforce; all of whom, as time passed, he gradually moulded into that sound Toryism which understands as well what is due to the liberty of a subject as to the prerogative of a sovereign. At the opening of his great career, however, Pitt made common cause with the 'Revolution Houses,' and spoke and voted in favour of the motions which drove Lord North from power.

Lord North resigned in March 1782, and the Marquis of Rockingham became, for the second time, First Lord of the Treasury. His Cabinet he made up of his own followers, and of the followers of Lord Chatham, in equal numbers; Pitt, declining to accept, as Burke accepted, a subordinate post in the Government. But the Administration, as so constructed, lasted but a few months, for on July 1 Lord Rockingham died. The party upon this, advised by Fox, endeavoured to force upon the King a successor of their selection, but the King resisted the pressure, and gave the seals to Lord Shelburne, afterwards first Marquis of Lansdowne, at that time one of the Secretaries of State, and the ostensible chief of the Chatham section of the Cabinet.

Mr. Fox, who had been most active in pressing the Duke of Portland upon the King, took great offence at this appointment. He withdrew, with several of his friends, from the Administration, whereupon the Government was again remodelled, and Pitt came into office, at the age of twenty-three, as Chancellor of the Exchequer.

From that time forth political parties began to divide themselves rather into Foxites and Pittites, than into Whigs and Tories. The truth is, that towards the end of the eighteenth

century, Toryism, in the sense originally applied to the term, was defunct, and that Pitt, and those who followed his fortunes, were, in the views which they entertained, both of commercial and civil administration, to the full as liberal as the professed followers of Fox. But this new marshalling of forces was not brought about till after other changes had occurred, the more important of which a few words will explain.

Lord North, it will be remembered, had been driven from office, by the combination against him of both sections of the Whig party. His indignation at what he regarded as ungenerous treatment induced him so completely to forget his own principles, that when Mr. Fox and his friends went into opposition, and made advances towards him, he joined them eagerly, for the purpose of overturning Lord Shelburne's Administration. The plan succeeded. On February 23, 1783, the House of Commons, by a majority of seventeen, condemned the terms on which a treaty of peace had just been signed, and on the 24th, Lord Shelburne sent in his resignation. A new Government, known as the Coalition Administration, was thereupon formed, under the ostensible premiership of the Duke of Portland—the same whom Mr. Fox had on a previous occasion pressed upon the Sovereign, and whom the Sovereign was now obliged, much against his will, to accept. But as the new Administration never acquired, nor deserved to acquire, the confidence of the King, so the means by which it attained to power alienated from its chiefs many of their supporters in both houses, and greatly disgusted the country. The chiefs of the Coalition Administration could not disguise, either from themselves or others, the true nature of their position. They knew that their tenure of office was precarious, for even the House of Commons, which had lifted them into place, hardly professed to respect them. Hence their chances of contending successfully against the difficulties which beset them depended very much on their being able to inaugurate such a system of patronage as might enable them to command the suffrages of the needy and the venal. With this view, Mr. Fox introduced into the House of Commons a bill for the better management of the affairs of the East India Company (the period of whose charter was close at hand, and who had petitioned for a renewal), which seems to have been designed to place the whole patronage of India, as well military as civil, at the disposal of the Cabinet. Mr. Fox, moreover, having the Commons at his devo-

tion, carried his bill through the Lower House by a triumphant majority, in spite of strong petitions against it from the Company and other public bodies, and the vigorous opposition of Mr. Pitt and his followers. But the King's fears were by this time thoroughly awakened; he felt that the passing of such a measure must inevitably render him the slave of a Whig Cabinet; and hence he caused it to be known in the House of Lords, that its rejection by that body would give him the utmost satisfaction. The Lords were well disposed of their own accord to deal with Mr. Fox's measure according to its deserts. Thus strengthened in their duty, they threw it out on a second reading; and the Whig Cabinet being on the same day summarily broken up, Mr. Pitt received a commission from His Majesty to form a new Administration.

SECTION I.

WHEN he received this commission, Mr. Pitt had scarcely attained to his twenty-fourth year; a singularly short life for a statesman; but of which no trifling proportion had, in his case, been spent in the public service of his country. Young as he was, however, he did not hesitate to place himself in the forefront of the battle. He accepted the twofold office of First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer; and made a bold effort to go on with the machinery which his predecessors had bequeathed to him.

The House of Commons, deeply imbued with Whig principles, opposed itself pertinaciously to the new appointments. An address to the crown for the removal of the Ministers was carried; and more than once, on disputed points, Pitt found himself in a minority. But strong in the consciousness of his own rectitude, and faithfully supported by the Sovereign, Pitt continued to hold the reins of government in his own hands; and such was his moral influence, even in that house, that the majorities against him diminished from day to day. The country, likewise, began ere long to give proof that out of doors, at least, his principles were understood and rightly valued. It was in the confident expectation that this public feeling would arise, that Pitt sustained his place in the Cabinet under circumstances so extraordinary; for the King had repeatedly offered to dissolve the Parliament, and was as often restrained from doing so by his Minister. But conceiving that now the happy moment was come,

Pitt assented to the dissolution, of which the effects were more strikingly advantageous to himself than even he could have anticipated. In counties, cities, and boroughs, the elections went generally in favour of the Government, so that when he met the house again, Pitt found himself as completely master there as he already was in the hearts of the freeholders, and of a vast majority of the reflecting people of England.

The affairs of India were pressing, and Pitt turned his first attention to them. In 1784 he carried his India Bill, which placed the Company's governments, both at home and abroad, upon the footing which up to a very recent date they have retained. But of that measure, and of the defects which it was introduced to rectify, as well as other matters connected with Indian administration, a full account will be given in a separate chapter.

There occurred very little in the domestic history of Great Britain between the years 1784 and 1788 of which it is necessary to make mention. At the latter period, however, the nation sustained great alarm, from a rumour that the King was indisposed; and the melancholy nature of his malady, the loss of reason, soon becoming evident, a great problem was submitted to the Legislature for solution. The throne was not vacant, yet the individual who occupied it was incapable of transacting business; and the calamity having occurred during a prorogation, there seemed to be no power vested anywhere, either to postpone or to hurry forward the period of their meeting. Under these circumstances, the Houses of Parliament assembled on November 20, the day specified in the royal proclamation, but they took no subject into consideration; indeed, this meeting was an act of mere form, which was followed immediately by an adjournment of fifteen days. During that interval the King's physicians were examined before the Privy Council, and gave it as their opinion that, though it was impossible to fix the limits of his disease, the King's recovery was by no means to be despaired of. The case of the Revolution in 1688 was supposed to furnish a precedent not inapplicable to existing circumstances; and the Lords and Commons, ceasing to act as a parliament, resolved themselves into a species of convention. It was then agreed, after a prolonged discussion, that the appointment of a Regency had become indispensable; and the general principle being established,

much difficulty was encountered in digesting the details of the measure. On February 3, 1789, the Houses having resumed their parliamentary character, Mr. Pitt brought in a bill, which, subject to numerous restrictions, committed the guardianship of the realm to the Prince of Wales, but left the care of the King's person, where it had previously been, in the hands of the Queen.

The bill, however, was yet under discussion in the Lords, the Commons having passed it by a considerable majority, when the royal physicians announced that their patient was convalescent. Immediately the business in hand was suspended; the Houses adjourned, and continued the adjournment till March 10. Then, indeed, they met again, to learn with unfeigned delight that his Majesty was restored to the use of all his faculties, and that the commission, under which the Chancellor addressed them, was signed by the King's hand. No language can describe the effect which this announcement produced throughout the country. In all the towns, from the capital downwards, there were bonfires and illuminations, men congratulating one another, as they are accustomed to do after some brilliant success in war; while medals were struck, odes written, and songs composed, to commemorate more enduringly so signal an interference of Divine Providence. Nor was the feeling diminished when the citizens of London beheld the use to which their beloved monarch first turned his renewed mental vigour. A solemn procession to St. Paul's, and a public thanksgiving to the King of Kings, showed the force of those pure religious principles which gave a tone to all this good monarch's proceedings, and which, it cannot be doubted, secured to him and to his people, during a period of unexampled danger and difficulty, the continued protection of the Almighty.

It was the great object of Pitt's domestic policy to relieve his country from the embarrassments in which former Ministers had involved it, by gradually diminishing the amount of public burdens, and giving a freer scope to the commercial energies of the people. With this view he established the Sinking Fund, an arrangement by which a certain proportion of the annual taxes was to be set aside; and having been allowed to accumulate till it reached a fixed amount, was then to be applied in the redemption of so much stock. In other respects his home-government was distinguished by the application of a just eco-

nomy to every branch of the national service; while the repeal, under certain restrictions, of the most rigorous of the penal laws affecting Roman Catholics, and an improvement in the law of libel, were measures adopted with a view to promote the best interests of all the King's subjects. In like manner, his dealings with the Colonies were all liberal and open. Canada he divided into two provinces, and granted to each a representative constitution; Jamaica enjoyed similar advantages; and the other islands were placed upon a footing the best calculated to meet their peculiar exigencies. But from a further prosecution of these wise measures Pitt was unhappily called away by the uneasy state of the continent of Europe, which appeared to vibrate, through all its fibres, to the terrible convulsions with which France was torn.

For some time past great uneasiness had prevailed in the north of Europe. As has been explained elsewhere, the unsettled condition of Poland first aroused the apprehensions, and then excited the cupidity, of her powerful neighbours; and Russia, Austria, and Prussia entered into a coalition for the purpose of preserving, as they alleged, their own provinces from harm. Shortly after, Poland was invaded by the armies of these three Powers; and, after a brave resistance, overcome. No change of dynasty, no modification of a government, fertile, doubtless, in mischief, was proposed to the vanquished. Their country being portioned out among the victors, ceased to hold a place among the nations of Europe; and the Poles, though still retaining their name, and the memory of their former greatness, became subjects not even of the same foreign lord. England has been greatly blamed for the supineness with which she looked on while this sad drama was acting; but there were more imminent dangers threatening, both from without and from within, and she did not conceive that she would be justified in withdrawing from them even a portion of her attention.

There had been some popular movements in Holland, which, with the sanction of the British Government, the Duke of Brunswick effectually put down; and the Prince of Orange, much to the satisfaction of the more respectable part of the community, resumed his office as Stadtholder. Spain, likewise, by a gross attack on certain British subjects, traders to the coast of California, had roused the indignation of the English people, and pre-

parations were made for war, which was only avoided by timely concessions on the part of the aggressor. France, too, while yet in name a monarchy, had taken an attitude of hostility, which however was soon laid aside; and altogether there was a fever abroad, which, independently of the spread of new opinions, caused kings and statesmen to tremble.

But it was in the progress of the French Revolution, and in the effects which it wrought even on this happy country, that Mr. Pitt beheld the cause of his deepest anxiety, for England soon began to feel the force of the storm which raged elsewhere. Clubs and societies sprang up, which had for their avowed object the reform of abuses in the Constitution. Books and pamphlets were published, such as Paine's 'Rights of Man,' and others of the same stamp, which, affecting to reduce the science of government to its first principles, taught the lower classes to be dissatisfied with their lot, and envious of the position of those above them. These miserable sophists omitted to tell the people that there is not, nor ever can be, an absolute equality among men; that were all distinctions of rank, wealth, and station abolished to-morrow, the progress of a very short time would renew them; and that in England, above all other countries under heaven, where the road to advancement is open, and where it is every day pursued with success by those of the humblest origin, no set of men are more interested than the poor in preserving the institutions by which they are protected in their industrial pursuits. It was impossible for a Minister who had the welfare of his nation so completely at heart as Mr. Pitt not to look upon this disordered state of the public mind with horror; and there were others in both Houses of Parliament, who, like himself, had once professed opinions erring, if at all, on the side of liberality, on whom, also, this great political lesson was not wasted. Mr. Burke, himself a host, after acting all his life with the Whigs, quitted them as soon as his prophetic eye had traced out the progress of a revolution of which Mr. Fox, and other leaders of the party, continued, even so late as 1798, to speak with applause. This great French Revolution occupies so important a place in history, and is so mixed up with the history of our own island, that it is necessary here to insert an account of its causes, beginnings, and progress.

CHAPTER IV.

RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

SECTION I.—A.D. 1715–1789.

The Causes.

PRIOR to the accession of Louis XV. the moral and political condition of France was, to all outward appearance, exactly what it had ever been since the establishment of the feudal system. The King was still, in the strictest sense of the term, an absolute monarch; the nobles and the clergy, besides possessing two-thirds of the landed property in the country, were exempt from the payment of taxes, and in the enjoyment of numerous privileges; while the people, or *tiers état*, on whom all the burdens of the state fell, were cheerful, loyal, brave, frivolous, and even happy. It is true that they were shut out from all commands in the army, all offices about the Court, all dignities in the Church, and all high stations in the law. It is likewise true that in their persons they were exposed to arbitrary arrest, and even to exile; that a compulsory labour was from time to time exacted from them; and that the rights of their seigneurs, or immediate lords, interfered very inconveniently even with their amusements. Still, the French plebeians, a light-hearted race, losing all sense of individual suffering in the contemplation of their country's greatness, laughed, danced, and sang under circumstances which would have roused, at least their insular neighbours, into open rebellion.

Former kings of France had been not only warriors, but successful warriors. Louis XV., with much of the ambition of his ancestors, enjoyed little of their good fortune; he was, moreover, profligate in his own manners, and the patron of gross and glaring profligacy in others. No doubt the Court of Louis XIV. had been the reverse of pure; while the glories

of his youth sustained an eclipse amid the reverses which overtook him in his old age; yet the personal influence of the monarch continued to the last unabated, because, whatever his real sentiments might have been, he professed a deep veneration for religion, and lost no opportunity of evincing it, even to affectation. The consequence was, that the elements of confusion, though already rife, were hindered from attaining, in his reign, to consistency; and that the contempt for all the acknowledged ties of morals and of faith, which was felt in high places, reached not the firesides of the humbler classes. But as time rolled on, and new hands swayed the sceptre, the effects of crying abuses began to appear, and France, of late so tranquil, exhibited in all her provinces the signs of a nation in which some mighty changes are about to be effected.

After the Seven Years' War, the order of nobles, a great deal too numerous from the first, had been very imprudently increased by new creations. There existed, however, no community of sentiment between the old and the new nobility, for the descendants of the chivalry of France looked upon these upstarts with scorn, and refused to hold with them any familiar correspondence. Nor were these ancient nobles at unity among themselves. Out of a thousand houses whose claims to nobility defied dispute, not more than three hundred possessed the independent means of supporting their rank, while the remainder found a subsistence in pensions granted by the Crown, in their pay as military officers or as functionaries about the Court. All, however, whether wealthy or the reverse, who possessed a spark of what their countrymen termed ambition, resided constantly within the influence of the Court atmosphere, while their estates were left to the management of plebeian stewards, or agents, who gradually established an ascendancy in the provinces, which ought to have belonged to the landlords, and to the landlords alone. There were some who, under the designation of Noblesse Campagne, dwelt in the châteaux of their ancestors, and followed rural pursuits; but if we except the aristocracy of La Vendée, the last specimens of the French country gentlemen, the last assertors of loyalty to their prince, and of a legitimate, because a kindly, influence over their tenantry, these were all of them men of narrow understanding, boundless in their prejudices, excessive in their pride, who neither partook of the frankness of manner

which distinguished the satellites of the Court, nor exercised the hospitality and condescension which seem natural to persons in their peculiar circumstances. On the whole, therefore, the nobles had placed themselves in a position which, while it hindered them from acting together efficiently as a body, caused them to be regarded by the people at large with a feeling widely different from that which, under a different state of society, the latter had been accustomed to cherish.

Such was the situation of the noblesse, divided even among themselves, by the regulation which hindered any of the new nobility from attaining to higher rank in the army than that of lieutenant-colonel. The state of the Church, as well with reference to the distribution of its preferments as to the far more important points of moral conduct and character among the Priesthood, was equally unsatisfactory. From time immemorial the dignities and chief emoluments of the Church were bestowed, in France, exclusively on men of noble birth. Till the reign of Louis XV., however, care was taken that, generally speaking, no man should obtain preferment against whom any charge of gross immorality, or even of levity, could be substantiated. But Louis XV. had drunk deep from the polluted fountains of infidelity; and hence all regard to decency (for to speak of holier motives would be absurd) was entirely laid aside in the selection of men to fill even the most prominent offices in the Gallican Church. Thus religion rapidly lost its influence in the dwellings of the peasantry, for the peasant could not pay respect to ordinances which the most responsible of his spiritual guides disregarded; while the utmost latitude was afforded to the attacks of scoffers, who strove to wound religion itself, by exposing the vices and follies of its teachers.

While the nobles and the clergy were thus casting from them the moral authority which their station in society gave, the rapid increase of wealth among the lower classes, the inevitable result of a growing commerce, called into existence a rival power, of itself more than adequate to the overthrow of ancient prejudices. As if, however, it had been the object of the privileged classes to cut away the ground from beneath their own feet, they set a fashion in other matters, which, when pursued to its full extent, could not but prove fatal to themselves. The influence of literature first began to be felt in France under Louis XIV.; its

power became, under his successor, more consolidated and more dangerous from day to day. Unfortunately, too, the literature of France, whether guided by the peculiar genius of the people or acted upon by the glaring faults in their social system, took from the outset a very mischievous turn. He was accounted the wittiest man who directed the most venomous shafts against established opinions in politics and religion; and it unfortunately happened that the nobles, and even some of the dignified clergy, gave to the teachers of such doctrines open and flattering countenance. It may be very true that most of those who fostered the snake in their bosoms did so without reflecting on what must inevitably follow. Vanity was, no doubt, the great actuating motive, for it savours of magnanimity to give our countenance to him who stands in an attitude of hostility towards our own privileges; and there is no people more open to the influence of what is called public opinion than the French. When, therefore, literary enthusiasts, the advocates of a state of society which never has existed, and never will exist, were received as honoured guests into the *salons* of the aristocracy, their theories were regarded as admirable merely in the abstract, although the ridicule which these writers sought to cast both upon the doctrines of Christianity and its moral precepts, was but too much relished. The tone which prevailed in the most popular works of the day only reflected back the temper of those minds by which the fashion was guided, and operated as a moving principle among the lower orders alone, by causing them more and more to stifle the respect with which they had hitherto regarded the failings of their betters. Then, indeed, was a way opened for the exertions of the Academicians, and of their able but unprincipled representatives, the Encyclopédists,[1] who, pouring forth their venom through a thousand channels, caused religion, purity, patriotism, and honour itself, to be held in sovereign contempt, not only in the capital, but throughout the realm.

Such was the channel into which public feeling was turned, when the heavy pressure of the Seven Years' War, from which no signal triumph had arisen, caused the unprivileged classes to doubt, for the first time, as to the wisdom of certain institutions under which they and their fathers had lived. They asked themselves the question, whether it was just that the nobles and clergy, the owners of almost all the real property in the land,

should contribute nothing towards the exigencies of the state; while they, who earned their bread by the sweat of their brow, paid so much to the public tax-gatherer. In perfect agreement with this humour was the tone which political writers began to assume. No one, indeed, ventured directly to contravene the wisdom of the national institutions. To have done so even now would have been dangerous, for the Bastille still existed; but it became the fashion to load with praise the political condition of England, as well as the bold and unfettered customs of its free inhabitants. As a matter of course, the passion, for such it was, ran, before long, into a ridiculous extreme; English manners, English dresses, English habits were adopted, particularly by the noble youth of both sexes, till from its very excess the affair became in the eyes of the superficial observer as ridiculous as to the more sober and reflecting it was the cause of much and painful thought.

These varied, yet nowise contradictory feelings, had long been at work to unhinge the public mind, when the war of American independence began; and Louis XVI., an upright but weak prince, was compelled, in spite of the dictates of his own better judgment, to take part in it. Doubtless, the memory of former defeats, and an anxious desire to retrieve the national honour, impelled many of the nobles to seek a rupture with England; while the mercantile classes conceived that now at length the moment had arrived when the naval, and therefore the trading, superiority of their great rival might be overthrown. But the Encyclopédists, to whom multitudes now looked up as to their guides in such cases, espoused the quarrel of America on far loftier grounds. The Americans fought for freedom; the cause was the cause of mankind, and Frenchmen, of all men living, were the most bound to support it. So ardently, indeed, was this conviction assumed, that several young noblemen, and among the rest the Marquess de la Fayette, solicited and obtained permission to serve as volunteers, long before the French Government had made up its mind to engage in the quarrel.

War against England having been declared, every exertion was made to conduct it with spirit; and a French army crossed the Atlantic to co-operate with the Americans, already more than a

[1] So called from their celebrated work, the 'Encyclopédie,' published gradually, from 1751 to 1781.

match for their opponents. One marked and inevitable consequence of the success which attended such co-operation was the rapid increase of what may henceforth be termed revolutionary principles in France. The soldiers who had served in America brought back with them to Europe new ideas respecting the wisdom of their native institutions. After witnessing the facility with which, in the service of a republic, genius and talent paved the way to eminence, in spite of the hindrance of lowly birth and narrow circumstances, neither the noble of the second class, nor the far more degraded private soldier, could any longer view with complacency his own condition. Wherever they went they complained, and their complaints were greedily received, and loudly echoed by a populace already under the influence of the Encyclopédists. Meanwhile the financial difficulties of the Government increased from day to day. Fresh loans were raised at exorbitant interest, and fresh taxes imposed, to meet the exigencies of the moment, till the Parliament of Paris, a court of magistrates which exercised the privilege of confirming or annulling all royal decrees relative to taxation, refused any longer to sanction a continuance of the system, saying that taxes could only be levied by the States-general. This was a severe blow upon the King; who, after trying various expedients, was compelled to dismiss his Ministers, the most popular, because the most liberal, that ever served him.

While Necker and Turgot, the functionaries now removed from the King's councils, managed, one the financial, the other the judicial department of the state, many important changes had been introduced into the constitution. The use of torture was abolished, the severity of the penal code was tempered, the *corvée* (or compulsory labour imposed on the peasantry) was set aside; arrangements were understood to be under discussion for annulling the authority of *lettres de cachet* (general warrants of imprisonment, issued by the sovereign without notice, without trial, and to gratify private malice), as well as for the establishment of representative assemblies in each of the provinces. Side by side with these judicial innovations went the financial reforms of Necker, who persuaded his master, himself well disposed to the measure, to reduce a large portion of his household troops, and to exercise in every other department the most rigid economy. All this was wise and proper; and the Ministers, to whom the entire

credit attached, had been extremely popular. But the plans of those who succeeded them, particularly of Monsieur Calonne, were at least as judicious. Calonne entertained the bold, but exceedingly just, idea of overcoming the financial difficulties by rendering the nobles and clergy, equally with the third estate, or commonalty, liable to taxation; but, unfortunately, he took a wrong step at the outset, from which he was never afterwards able to recover. Instead of convening at once, by royal ordinance, a meeting of the States-general (a body answering to our Parliament, though not divided into two chambers, and which had not been assembled for more than 170 years), he called 'the Notables' together, a body of persons elected exclusively by the privileged classes, and destitute of all power, except to deliberate and recommend. The Notables, as might have been anticipated, pronounced against the Minister's project, and the Minister resigned. His place was taken by the Archbishop of Sens, a man every way unfitted to direct the course of events, and a crisis was hurried on, to avert which, perhaps, no human abilities would have sufficed.

Now stretching to its utmost limits the royal prerogative, now yielding to the faintest show of popular resistance, Sens rendered the kingly office not only odious, but contemptible in the eyes of all. He dissolved the Notables, called the parliament again together, and forced them to register a decree for new taxes, and, in punishment of a protest which that body dared to publish, drove into banishment some of its leading members. In that sentence the Duke of Orleans, a traitor to his family and his order, for the worst purposes, was included. But all this display of violence, for vigour it cannot be called, proved futile. The people refused to pay the taxes, and the King, unwilling to break entirely with his subjects, suspended the collections. From that moment the fate of the French monarchy was sealed; and Sens, incapable of facing a storm which his own rash proceedings had aggravated, suddenly quitted Paris.

SECTION II.—A.D. 1788–1791.

The Outbreak.

DESERTED in his hour of need, Louis could think of no other expedient than to recall Necker to his counsels, and trust to the

effect which the popularity of that Minister might produce. Necker accordingly returned to the Cabinet; but, though deeply impressed with the necessity of remodelling all the institutions of the country, he was, perhaps, less qualified than he had ever been to accomplish so great an undertaking. Of whatever moral courage he might have formerly been possessed, recent events had deprived him. He felt, indeed, that the States-general must be summoned; he was willing to concede to the *tiers état*, or third estate, a double representation; but he wished to keep the three estates distinct, so that they might deliberate and vote, each in its own chamber. He was, however, too timid to effect these arrangements on his own responsibility. The Notables were accordingly assembled, and the question proposed for discussion among them. The Notables declined to increase the odium under which they already laboured, by adopting as their own the views of the Minister, and a day was actually fixed for the meeting of the States—ere any decision had been come to as to the form of their proceedings, or the relative importance of their voices.

On May 5, 1789, the States-general met, and a dispute immediately began, of which the issue could not be doubtful. The nobles and clergy required that there should be three chambers; the representatives of the people insisted that there should be one. Had the nobles and clergy been at unity among themselves, which they were not, even then their voices would have been raised in vain against the fierce eloquence of the people's representatives, supported and encouraged by that of the people themselves. As it was, the struggle proved neither obstinate nor tedious. All the inferior clergy, several of the dignitaries of the Church, with some of the nobles, embraced the views of the *tiers état*, which proceeded, with their concurrence, to renounce its ancient title, and to assume the more dignified appellation of the National Assembly.

On June 17, 1789, the National Assembly met; and by declaring that in it, as the sole representatives of the people, all legislative authority resided, gave a palpable beginning to the long-threatened revolution. Its progress was both rapid and fearful; for the King, in every effort which he made either to moderate its violence, or to guide its course, proved eminently unfortunate. His first endeavour was to take the lead, by pro-

posing himself a constitution for the Assembly; and to give to the proceeding the greater degree of solemnity, he resolved to bring forward his project at a royal sitting. He made choice of the hall of the *tiers état*, as a fit place in which to hold that sitting; and sent workmen to repair and to arrange it, without having explained his views or formally soliciting the permission of the body. The utmost indignation was felt, or affected, by the members of the Assembly, when they found sentinels placed at the doors of their own hall, who peremptorily refused to give way. They adjourned to a tennis-court hard by, and there, amid the tumult of a thunder-storm, took a solemn oath that they would never separate till the work of their country's regeneration was complete. They were in this humour when the King, having completed his arrangements, met them: they listened to his propositions in sullen silence, treated his mandate of dissolution with contempt, and replied to the remonstrance of the chamberlain by a frank avowal that only the bayonet should unseat them. Had Louis led back his guards, and driven them forth on the instant, he might even yet have found support; but he was too humane, perhaps too timid, to adopt a course, of which the immediate consequence would have doubtless been a collision between the mob and the soldiery. Thus, in the teeth of a royal dissolution, the National Assembly continued to sit, and to transact business; while the King contented himself with drawing towards the capital thirty thousand soldiers, almost all of whom were as deeply tinged with republicanism as the demagogues whom they were designed to overawe.

One of the earliest consequences of this altered state of things, was the return of the members of the Parisian parliament, and of the Duke of Orleans, from exile. The latter entered warmly into the views of the seditious; not from any desire to promote the rational liberty of his country, but because he hoped, amid the confusion which seemed to be at hand, that he might displace his cousin on the throne. His prodigious wealth was accordingly lavished in hiring ruffians of all degrees; some of whom gave a tone to the public press, some shouted seditious cries in the streets, and some perpetrated the most atrocious crimes in every quarter of the city. But Orleans, with all the moral guilt, possessed none of the decision of character which is essential

in a conspirator. He hesitated when it behoved him to act, permitted the propitious moment to pass away, lost all real control over his party, and became a mere tool in the hands of abler men. Meanwhile the National Assembly went forward in its wild career. The mob, too, inflamed to madness by the harangues of the orators, became every day more and more unmanageable, till, before long, it learned to set all moral restraint at defiance. A cry was raised to demolish the Bastille; and the Bastille, being garrisoned only by a hundred Swiss invalids, after a short contest, was taken and burnt. The slaughter of these unhappy foreigners served to stimulate the appetite of the Parisians for blood. Was any one obnoxious on account of his rank, his property, or his principles, a band of miscreants pronounced him a public enemy, and he was torn to pieces. The National Assembly carried, by acclamation, votes, which abolished all the recognised privileges of individuals and corporate bodies. Then began the nobles of France to emigrate, leaving the King alone, and unfriended, to bear, as he best might, the buffetings of so terrible a storm.

Thus passed the summer of 1789, amid scenes which will never be forgotten; for in the provinces, not less than in the capital, the bands of social life were loosened, and the tenantry and peasants committed the most atrocious outrages on the properties and persons of their lords. The King, meanwhile, kept his court at Versailles, where also the National Assembly held its sittings; and where tardy progress was made in the construction of a constitution, respecting the very elements of which no two opinions accorded. Necker laboured to establish a double chamber, somewhat after the model of America, where the members of the senate are elected for life. He was thwarted in this, as well as in his endeavour to secure to the King a permanent veto; nevertheless, he clung to office with a tenacity which proved him to be as ambitious of empty distinction as he was unequal to the task of controlling the tempest that howled around him. But more severe trials awaited the unhappy monarch than this. The events of the summer, by calling men away from their labours in the field, produced a famine, which was nowhere felt with greater violence than in Paris. The pressure of absolute want necessarily increased the confusion which revolutionary opinions had created; and the anarchist found his most powerful and

willing agents among the starving denizens of the *faubourgs*. It was at this juncture that an event occurred, in itself of very little moment, but which the circumstances of time and place dilated into an affair big with the fortunes of France and of Europe.

Louis XVI. was naturally a man of peace, ready to endure with fortitude the buffetings of evil fortune; but neither willing nor perhaps able to meet his misfortunes like a hero, and, by opposing, to overcome them. His consort, on the other hand, was a woman of high spirit; and there were others about him who laboured to create the conviction, that he owed it both to himself and to his country not tamely to yield to the encroachments of a power as unreasonable as it was insolent. To withdraw from the capital, and boldly hoist his standard, was the advice which these counsellors gave him; and corrupt as France was, it is by no means certain that the advice was not good. It would seem that, at this particular period, Louis felt disposed to adopt it. At all events, a reinforcement of troops, including the regiment of Flanders, whose loyalty was supposed to be of the highest order, marched, to the surprise of the Assembly, and the alarm of its leaders, into Versailles. It was the custom of the French service for the officers of corps already in garrison, to entertain, on their arrival, the officers of other regiments which might join them. The custom was on the present occasion observed; and the King granted as the place of entertainment, that saloon in his palace which was commonly used as a theatre. The event served, however, to prove, that more was meant in this military feast than met either the eye or the ear. When the guests were somewhat elevated with wine, the royal family appeared on the balcony; and the shouts with which they were received, gave evidence that the effect was not different from what had been anticipated. Immediately the bands played loyal airs. Health to the King was drunk; white cockades being distributed were eagerly worn, and the tri-colour, the emblem of liberalism, was trodden under-foot. But no advantage was taken of this burst of good feeling. The King neither fled, nor hoisted his standard at Versailles, nor in any other way strove to make account of the sensation which had been created; but waited, like a desperate man, to see what impression would be produced elsewhere, by a play which ought either not to have

been acted at all, or to have been carried through to the uttermost.

Intelligence having been received at Paris of the entertainment which was given at Versailles to the newly-arrived troops, this proceeding was regarded as inconsistent with the state of the nation, and gave rise to an extraordinary ferment. Already had the citizens enrolled themselves into a civic militia, to the command of which La Fayette was advanced; and more than once had that corps, under the denomination of the National Guard, given proof of its usefulness, in restraining the violence of the rabble. But the passions of the people were so completely inflamed by the tales brought to them from Versailles, that, before La Fayette could assemble his troops, a prodigious mob came together, against which the National Guard refused to act. The prime movers in this formidable body were women, of the lowest classes, of course, who insisted upon a march to Versailles, for the purpose of wringing from the King a portion of those good things which he so unworthily wasted upon foreign mercenaries. It was to no purpose that La Fayette exerted himself to arrest their progress. His troops were lukewarm; the populace were determined; and a march began, of which, at a long interval, the National Guard brought up the rear.

That was a night of indescribable horrors at Versailles. Ignorant of the approach of the Parisian mob, of which the Assembly had early been informed, the King and his courtiers had neither made preparations to defend themselves, nor thought of seeking safety in flight. They were blockaded in the palace. The faithful body-guard, four hundred gentlemen, of whom many were Irish, and some Scotch, vainly exposed themselves to certain destruction, while striving to maintain the court-yard of the palace; while La Fayette, after engaging for the tranquillity of the place, had retired most unaccountably to repose. The result of the whole affair was, that the royal family found themselves, on the morrow, at the mercy of the rabble, to satisfy whom, they were compelled to form a part of a triumphal procession, by which both they and one hundred members of the National Assembly were conducted to the capital.

From the hour of his return to the palace of the Tuileries, Louis felt that he was altogether in the power of the revolutionists. He did not, therefore, pretend to oppose himself to their

wishes; but ratified, with seeming cheerfulness, whatever enactments they from time to time submitted to him. It is true that the movement was by no means at unity with itself; for the Jacobins, a club so called from their place of meeting at the convent of St. Jaques, clamoured for a pure republic, while the Girondists, or constitutionalists, of whom La Fayette was at the head, desired a monarchy supported by republican institutions. But as far as his own feelings were concerned, Louis saw as little reason to place confidence in the one party as in the other. Yet he was not without friends; among whom, strange to say, was numbered, in this his dark hour of need, the apostate from his order, Mirabeau. That man, a profligate in morals, yet gifted with extraordinary powers of mind and of eloquence, had early thrown himself into the arms of the republicans; and soon exercised over the Assembly a degree of authority to which no one except himself ever could attain. Whether touched by the fallen state of the sovereign, or hoping to make more of him than of the mob, Mirabeau unexpectedly assured Louis of his desire to serve him. Nor was the captive king without supporters elsewhere. The Marquess de Bouillé, commandant of the army in the east of France, made no concealment of his royalist principles; yet such was his influence with the troops, that the Assembly did not venture to remove him from his station. He, too, opened a correspondence with the King; and while the one held out to him hopes of being able to bring round the National Assembly to his views, the other arranged a plan for the King's escape from Paris, leaving all that was to follow to the direction of Providence.

How far Mirabeau might or might not have succeeded, it is useless to conjecture; for he died suddenly, ere time was afforded to make any impression on the Assembly. Louis was thus driven to depend upon Bouillé alone; and true as that devoted servant was, and faithful as were the agents employed by him, fortune declared against them all, and the King was the sufferer. The King, accompanied by the Queen, two of their children, two gentlewomen, and three members of the body-guard, fled in disguise from Paris; having left behind him a written protest against all the acts which he had ratified during the period of his virtual imprisonment. He encountered at every stage innumerable dangers, and at Varennes was detected, his escort overawed, and

himself arrested. His return to the capital was attended by every demonstration of insult and outrage. The faithful guards sat upon the box, manacled and chained; to himself no marks of respect were paid, even by the military, but he was conveyed to the palace amid the threatening gestures and sullen countenances of a mob which thirsted for his blood. Louis had once already subscribed to a constitution which abolished all distinctions of rank among the subjects, and left to the sovereign, in his legislative capacity, only the exercise of a restricted veto. He again, in the face of the protest alluded to above, gave his sanction to arrangements of which he was known to disapprove, but the ratification of which was looked upon by the National Assembly as releasing them from their vow. They accordingly passed a vote which declared the members of the existing body disqualified from taking seats in that which should succeed; and with all the appearance, at least, if not with the reality, of patriotism, declared their commission at an end.

SECTION III.—A.D. 1791–1793.

The French Revolution to the Death of the King.

AFTER the second acceptance of the constitution by the King, France was believed by its own inhabitants, and by many who viewed it from afar, to have wrought out the most glorious revolution in all history. No doubt, the two years' labour of the National Assembly had swept away numerous abuses, and had events stopped there, it is probable that they might have been moulded, in the course of time, despite the atrocities which stained them, into such an order of things as reasonable men could sanction. But the Constituent Assembly, at the close of one of those pageants which seem peculiarly suited to French tastes, as has been mentioned, abruptly laid down its commission, having passed a law which rendered it impossible for any member of the body to accept a seat in the legislature which was to succeed. Now, when the state of France at that moment is considered, a measure more childish in its nature, or more mischievous in its effects, cannot be conceived. The National Assembly had shaken to its base the whole fabric of society. The King, instead of an absolute monarch, was become a mere pageant

of state, whose authority in legislation extended no further than the exercise of a veto, which the obstinacy of the people's representatives could in all cases overcome. As an executive officer, again, he was competent to little more than the command of troops, raised not by his will: and the affixing of his name to resolutions and sentences concerning which he had not been consulted. The hereditary nobles were extinct; the law of primogeniture was abolished; the clergy, despoiled of their property, were become helpless state-annuitants; there was, indeed, no check upon the passions of the giddy multitude, except that which the Legislative Assembly might apply. Now, for men who had learned something in the course of a two years' apprenticeship, to abandon their posts at this juncture, leaving them to be occupied by untried representatives, chosen, as these of course would be, amid the heat of popular frenzy; that was an act not merely of folly, but of treason against the state, and particularly against the constitution, of the real capabilities of which no opportunity was given to judge. The scenes which followed each other in rapid succession, after the new Assembly came together, more than justified the darkest anticipations which the worst enemies of change, particularly of change so effected, could have formed.

In the new body, which assumed at once the appellation of the National Legislative Assembly, the same factions, the Jacobins and the Girondists, appeared as had distracted the former, together with a third, feeble both from personal character and numbers, called the Feuillant party. The latter would have supported a monarchy under all casualties; the two former very soon evinced their determined hostility to the shadow that remained of kingly power. Meanwhile the emigration went on rapidly, till by-and-by so many of the nobles were assembled in Austrian Flanders, that they took to themselves, or received from others, the appellation of External France. This, together with the zeal of the disaffected clergy, who preached resistance in all the provinces, and in some not without effect, greatly irritated the Jacobins. In defiance of the fundamental clause in their charter, which said that all men were equal, the Jacobins brought in and carried through the Assembly, a law which denounced all emigrants as enemies of France, and subjected to banishment all priests who were hostile to the measure. But the King, fallen as he was,

would not be a party to such injustice. He wrote privately, indeed, to his brothers, entreating that they would return, and assured them of his determination to respect the oath which he had taken; but he steadily exercised his veto in rejecting propositions against which both his judgment and his feelings protested. His conduct, in this particular, put an end to whatever lingering cordiality might remain between him and the heads of the revolution; who now openly accused him of encouraging the foreign interference with which on all sides France began to be threatened.

A new epoch of the Revolution now arrived: La Fayette gradually lost his influence; Pétion, a bold and furious republican, was elected mayor of Paris. Austria, under her young emperor, Francis II., began to arm, and Russia, and Sweden, and Spain, and the German States, followed the example. At Brussels, at Coblentz, at Treves, and elsewhere, crowds of French gentlemen assembled, in the ancient uniform, and wearing the well-known badges of the royal house of Bourbon. Against their meetings, and still more against the sudden march of ninety thousand Austrians towards different points on the frontier, the leaders of the Assembly protested, whilst the Assembly itself voted large sums of money, and directed one hundred and fifty thousand men to be enrolled for the defence of the country. Then began the Feuillant party to fall to pieces; while Dumouriez, an intriguer from his youth, and alternately a courtier, a constitutionalist, and a Jacobin, rose to eminence on their ruins. Finally, Louis himself, urged onwards by an uncontrollable fate, appeared in the Assembly, and after a paper had been read by Dumouriez, now his minister for foreign affairs, announced his desire that war might be declared. The suggestion was adopted with enthusiasm, and that night the Assembly declared war, in the name of the French people, against Austria.

Dumouriez, bold, enterprising, and skilful, insisted, in the face of the opinions of his colleagues, that France should strike the first blow. He remembered that Brabant had recently been in revolt; and that it was not subdued without difficulty; and he flattered himself that its inhabitants would join the French troops who appeared among them in the name of liberty. The first campaign proved that he had miscalculated the nature of the implements with which he had to work. Two French

columns were defeated as soon as attacked by the Austrians; and a scene of confusion and riot ensued, such as usually attends the overthrow of undisciplined yet highly excited troops. The fugitives tore their officers to pieces. Meanwhile the bad success of the campaign threw Paris into confusion. The Jacobins besieged the House of Assembly in large bodies, and demanded the death of the King, whom they accused of selling his own troops, and holding a secret communication with the enemy; and hurrying thence, insulted Louis himself in the courts of his own palace. But though a sense of shame brought about, at the termination of the scene, something like reaction in the King's favour, the balance between order and anarchy was lost. La Fayette, true to the last to his own impracticable theories, hurried from the frontier; but could neither overawe the Assembly, nor persuade the King to head the army, nor even rally round him, as he had formerly done, the national guards. So died out the last remnant of what was called the constitutional party, for all that followed in this hideous political earthquake was the work of the Jacobins.

All this while the heavy accusation under which Louis lay, implied that he maintained a secret correspondence with the emigrants. It would have been very extraordinary if he had not; yet the facts adduced in support of the charge were all of them unsatisfactory. He increased the number of his body-guards, and took care to enrol such men only as he believed to be attached to his person. The Assembly and the Parisians immediately took fire, and the obnoxious guards were disbanded. It was proposed to establish a camp of 20,000 men near the capital. In spite of the earnest solicitations of Dumouriez, who engaged, by detaching battalion after battalion to the frontier, to render the arrangement innocuous, he refused his consent. Dumouriez forthwith resigned; while a new Administration, selected exclusively from the wreck of the Feuillants, proved altogether incapable of directing the course of events. Anarchy and confusion overspread the city. La Fayette with difficulty escaped condemnation, and the mob, incited by the Jacobins, of whom were Danton, Robespierre, and Marat, clamoured for the King's deposition.

Unfortunately, the Duke of Brunswick, the general of the forces of Prussia, issued at this moment an ill-judged and haughty manifesto. As commander-in-chief of the allied armies,

he required from France a restoration of the kingly authority, and of the rights of the nobles and clergy; and threatened to treat as rebels all persons who should be found in arms against their sovereign. In a moment, Dumouriez and La Fayette, forgetful of their personal wrongs, took their stations with the army on the frontier; and by carefully training the troops, and calling them forth to occasional skirmishes at an advantage, taught them gradually to acquire confidence in themselves and in their leaders.

The invasion of the allies was no sooner arranged than the Assembly passed a decree, which required all males, not incapacitated by old age or bodily infirmity, to take up arms. The call was responded to with such eagerness that France became, as it were, one mighty camp; volunteers presenting themselves in such numbers that there were not found muskets enough to arm one-half of them. But in Paris, where this general movement originated, the temper of men's minds was universally bad. Armed crowds paraded the streets, singing seditious songs, and denouncing the King as a traitor, while arrangements were made, in case the Assembly should resist his deposition, to attack the palace, and destroy its inmates. The Assembly was utterly corrupt; the court knew its danger, and, to a certain extent, provided against it; but, on August 10, 1792, the storm burst with a violence which could not be withstood; the Tuileries was assailed by a countless multitude. The King, to avoid the effusion of blood, made his way through the crowd, and threw himself into the arms of the Assembly, by whom he, with all his family, including the Queen and the children, were committed as prisoners to the Temple, as the state prison was called. His brave Swiss guards, being attacked by an overwhelming force, were, after a gallant resistance, overcome; and the palace was, in all its rooms and galleries, made the scene of slaughter.

There was now a complete dissolution of all order and subordination; for law had lost its influence, and the chief magistrate his power. The Jacobins cried aloud for vengeance; and the prisons, which were full of unfortunate royalists, or of persons suspected of aristocratic principles, were broken open, and the inmates massacred. At the same time an army assembled under Dumouriez, to oppose the progress of the Prussians; who, having overrun the frontier provinces, and made themselves masters of Verdun, threatened Paris itself with the horrors of a siege.

Nothing could exceed the skill and valour with which Dumouriez repelled this storm; while the Duke of Brunswick, finding a vigorous resistance where he had been led to expect none, lost all courage, and hastily retreated. But the misfortunes to the cause of monarchy did not end with this momentary repulse of the invaders. The French people became inflamed with the most implacable rancour against the title of king. It was pronounced by a vote of the Assembly to be abolished; that year was declared to be the first of the French Republic; and the life of the deposed monarch was sought with an avidity which left very little ground to hope that it, too, would not be sacrificed.

A season of violent convulsions, like those under which France now laboured, is prolific in prominent characters, which succeed one another rapidly, till one, more able than the rest, places himself above the workings of the mass, and establishes a perfect tyranny. Numerous had been the idols of the giddy Parisians; yet their fate was, for the most part, the same. La Fayette was a fugitive and a prisoner in Austria; Necker had longer ceased to be remembered; Pétion was out of date; Marat and Robespierre came prominently forward. These were the avowed leaders of the Mountain, a party of Jacobins so called because they occupied the highest seats on the left or republican side of the Chamber, and these with one voice demanded the execution of the King. Robespierre, indeed, declared against the proposition that a trial ought to be granted to him, contending that the act of deposition amounted to an act of condemnation also, and that it was necessary for the well-being of the Republic that he should perish. Nevertheless, the Assembly granted him a day of trial; nay, they carried their decency so far as to award to him the services of any advocates in his defence who might possess courage or eccentricity enough to enter upon so unpopular a measure. Fallen monarchs are not often so happy as to find that they have friends, yet Louis XVI. did enjoy that blessing. The virtuous Malesherbes, a distinguished Parisian barrister, now an old man, presented himself before the Convention as the defender of the King. 'I have been twice called' (such was the tenor of his letter) 'to be counsel for him who was once my master, at a time when these functions were ambitiously sought by every one! I owe him the same service when these functions are considered by many to be dangerous.' Louis was

deeply affected by this display of devotion on the part of his ex-Minister. 'The sacrifice which you make,' said he, when Malesherbes entered his chamber, 'is the more generous, that you expose your own life without a chance of saving mine.'

Melancholy as this anticipation was, the lapse of a few days sufficed to confirm it. Louis was arraigned before the Convention; and in spite of a brilliant defence on the part of Malesherbes, and of the suffrages of three hundred deputies belonging to the Girondist faction, sentence of death was passed upon him, by a majority of twenty-six votes. He received the announcement of his approaching fate with great composure. He solicited nothing more than a delay of three days to make his peace with God, a priest of his own choosing to attend him in his last moments, and permission to see his wife and children; yet such was the ferocity of the miscreants who thirsted for his blood, that only the two last petitions were granted. Having held with his afflicted family one heart-rending interview, having made his will, and prayed for pardon to himself and his murderers, Louis resigned himself to the guidance of his gaolers. On January 21, 1793, the guillotine put an end to his sufferings.

SECTION IV.—A.D. 1793–1795.

The French Revolution: the Wars that arose from it.

THE death of Louis XVI. rendered the parties in France irreconcileable, and greatly incensed the external enemies of the Revolution. England, Spain, all the German States, Naples, and Rome joined the confederation, and pledged themselves one to the other by the most solemn engagements. The motives which actuated some of these states may have been as much selfish as inspired with a desire for the common good. But, on the part of England, the faith of treaties as well as the principle of self-defence compelled her to interfere. The French, eager to spread the principles of the Revolution, invaded Holland, which England was bound by treaty to defend; and England itself swarmed with democratic clubs, between which and the leaders of the Jacobins in Paris a traitorous correspondence was carried on. No alternative, therefore, remained to George III. except either to wait till a revolt should be brought about at

home, and fifty thousand troops thrown ashore on the coasts of Kent and Essex to support it; or else, by taking the initiative, to keep the war at a distance from his own shores, and so to cast the miseries resulting from it on those by whom it had been provoked. Though extremely desirous of peace, the preservation of which could alone enable him to complete his measures of reform and retrenchment, Pitt was too wise a Minister to hesitate in such circumstances. After a good deal of correspondence had passed between him and the Convention, the British Ambassador at Paris was recalled; and France issuing a formal declaration of war, a struggle began to which, in point of magnitude and duration, the history of the world can furnish no parallel.

On January 28, 1793, a message from the King announced to the two Houses of Parliament that the French Minister in London had been ordered to quit the kingdom, and that his Majesty thought it necessary to increase his forces both by sea and land. So early as the 25th of the month following, a body of troops marched from London; and having been accompanied as far as Greenwich by the King and Queen, were embarked, under the orders of the Duke of York, to join the allies in Holland. Their presence there was needed; for, in spite of the defection of Dumouriez, who, failing to corrupt his own army, had passed over with a slender escort to the allies, the valour of the Republican forces was not evaporated. Indeed, the condition of France throughout this season, with reference both to its domestic and foreign proceedings, was altogether unprecedented in the annals of nations. In Paris, faction after faction took the lead, and the tyrants of one day perished on the scaffold under the tyrants of another. Lyons was the seat of a fierce civil war; Bordeaux, Marseilles, and Toulon resisted the decrees of the Convention; and throughout La Vendée the standard of royalty waved over many a successful field. Yet were the wild energies of the Jacobins only roused to fresh exertion. Though there was neither law nor government, except the wishes of the mob, which wavered from hour to hour, France became one vast camp, where hundreds of thousands of young men enrolled themselves for the field, while the aged stayed at home to fabricate weapons. Such a people might be destroyed—they could not be overawed; and as there was no lack of military talent among them, they soon learned to feel and to manœuvre like veterans.

The campaign of 1793 opened well. At Famars and Lincelles the allies overthrew the French, in combats which gave to the English guards an opportunity greatly to distinguish themselves; and the towns of Condé and Valenciennes surrendered, the former to the Austrians, the latter to the Duke of York. On the Rhine, the Prussians and Austrians obtained several advantages; in Piedmont the scale was more than equally balanced; while from the side of the Pyrenees, a Spanish army crossed the Bidassoa, and penetrated a little way into the interior. Meantime, the Vendéans not only resisted the forces sent to reduce them, but passed the Loire, and laid siege to Nantes. Lyons freed itself from the tyranny of a Jacobin governor; Marseilles declared for the counter-movement; and Toulon, occupied in part by a mixed force, consisting of Spaniards, Italians, and one or two English regiments, presented to the provinces around a strong rallying-point. But the season was not ended when the tide began to turn, and its reflux was even more rapid, as well as more striking, than its flow. Under the guidance of a Committee of Public Safety, which included among its members Danton and Barrère, that prodigious movement took place which converted the youth of France into a countless host of warriors, and sent them forth, to burst like a thunder-cloud upon the enemy. The Vendéans, baffled before Nantes, retreated, with the loss of their leader, into their fastnesses; Kellerman, one of the Republican generals, was victorious in Piedmont; while Houchard, another, marching upon Dunkirk, of which the Duke of York had formed the siege, defeated the covering army under General Freytag, the Austrian general, and caused the British to retreat. Simultaneous with these successes was the march of sixty thousand men upon Lyons, before whose fierce valour the city fell. Marseilles also submitted to its fate; while the siege of Toulon was formed, a service which enabled Napoleon Buonaparte, then an officer of artillery, to bring himself conspicuously into notice.

Napoleon Buonaparte was born at Ajaccio, in Corsica, on August 15, 1769. He was the second of thirteen children, and received his education at the military schools of Brienne and Paris, where he distinguished himself above his contemporaries by his love of study, and the astonishing progress which he made, particularly in mathematics. At the age of seventeen he was appointed to a second lieutenancy in a regiment of artillery, and spent some time

with his regiment at Vallence, where the beauty of his countenance, his light and elegant figure, and the liveliness and variety of his conversation, rendered him peculiarly acceptable to the society in which he mixed. But Napoleon was not a man to waste his days in the enjoyment of social intercourse. He lived, moreover, in times which presented a free opening to his ambition, and even from his boyhood he appears to have been ambition's slave. Still neither his rank nor his age entitled him to take the lead in any one of the mighty scenes which were enacted around him; and hence, though we find him in Paris during 1792, where he witnessed the insurrections which led to the dethronement and execution of Louis, it does not appear that he took any part in either movement, or at all connected himself with their authors.

The command of the troops employed to reduce Toulon was given to General Cartaux, a man whose sole claim upon the notice of the Convention appears to have consisted in the rancour of his republican principles. Though there was little unity of purpose within the allied lines, the siege made no progress; till Buonaparte, of whose military genius no record had been kept, obtained rank as a brigadier-general, and came to the scene of action. An immediate change occurred in the disposition of the French artillery. Fort Mulgrave, a strong redoubt, which protected the roadstead where the British fleet lay at anchor, sustained a furious cannonade, in an attempt to silence which by a sally, the British commander in-chief was taken prisoner. By-and-by, a breach having been effected, the redoubt was carried by assault; and the allies found it necessary, under circumstances of peculiar difficulty, to evacuate the place. They accordingly destroyed their stores, spiked and otherwise disabled their cannon, carried off fifteen sail-of-the-line, and set fire to the remainder; placed as many of the inhabitants in boats as chose to follow their fortunes; and, amid the blaze of dockyards and the explosion of powder-magazines, abandoned the ruins of Toulon to the fury of its assailants.

The revolutions which then, and for some years afterwards, agitated Paris, bore on the fortunes of England only as much as that out of them arose a power, the most formidable by far to which Great Britain ever stood opposed either in peace or in war. The Mountain or Jacobin party first prevailing, their energies

were wielded by a triumvirate whose names will live for ever in the annals of crime. Marat, Danton, and Robespierre can never be forgotten. Yet Marat died by the dagger of a young and enthusiastic woman; while the two last, though apparently in unison between themselves, were alike engaged in efforts the one to supplant the other. For a while the influence of Danton prevailed; yet the fanaticism with which he pushed forward schemes almost too atrocious for belief, gave to his rival facilities which he failed not to improve. The murder of the King had been followed up, as was to be expected, by that of the Queen, the Princess Royal, and the young Dauphin. The last remains of royalty were thus extinguished in France; for even the wretched Duke of Orleans died upon the scaffold, a fate which he had richly merited. In the same spirit, titles of nobility were put down, and almost all who could lay claim to the distinction of gentle blood went into banishment. Yet the infatuated and brutalized people insisted on going still further; and, as a consummation of their crimes, openly renounced allegiance to God. A man, who had taken the oath to the constitution as Archbishop of Paris, was persuaded to present himself in his robes of office, before the multitude, to pronounce the religion which he had heretofore taught a cheat, and to disown, in solemn and explicit terms, the very existence of a Deity. Shouts of approbation testified to the insane joy of the populace, who, imagining that now at last they were released from all restraint, ran into excesses still more hideous than ever. Yet Danton, in giving his sanction to so wild a step, surpassed the limits of even French endurance. Robespierre knew this; and he secretly fomented the dissatisfaction which rankled in men's hearts, till a faction greatly inferior to his own, both in numbers and in talent, prevailed over him who was once the terror of the Convention. Danton fell under the blow of the executioner, and Robespierre governed alone. Nevertheless, Robespierre had his rivals also. His butcheries were so indiscriminating, his avarice so conspicuous, that no one, however intimately connected with him, could calculate on his own safety; and a series of intrigues began, which ended in the overthrow of the tyrant.

This miscreant, who had caused the very kennels to flow with blood, was denounced in a meeting of the Convention; and with six of his associates was committed to prison. He had, however,

a party among the rabble of Paris, who, with the mayor at their head, effected his rescue, and placed him, with his companions, in the Hôtel de Ville, which they undertook to defend to the last extremity. But those who had voted for his arrest, felt that everything was at stake with them. They collected fifteen hundred men; brought artillery to bear upon the building, and so intimidated the mob that one by one they shrank from the combat. Then it was that the group of Terrorists within, to which the mayor had joined himself, began to act like scorpions, round which a circle of fire had been drawn. Mutual and ferocious upbraidings took place among them. 'Wretch! were these the means you promised to furnish?' said the mayor to one whom he found intoxicated, and incapable either of resolution or exertion, and lifting him up as he spoke, he threw him from the window. The latter survived the fall only to drag himself into a drain, whence he was soon afterwards removed, and carried to execution. The younger Robespierre leaped from the window, but though shockingly bruised, he did not escape the guillotine. Two or three attempted to kill themselves, but their resolution failed them; one lay beneath the table, brandishing a knife, with which he wounded his breast, but had not nerve enough to push home. In this hideous plight were these ruffians carried before the Convention, now triumphant, by whom, without any regard to the forms of justice, of which the spirit had long been forgotten, they were ordered to immediate execution.

The fall of Robespierre placed in conspicuous stations men, who, if they did not surpass their predecessors in public virtue, had at least more of public wisdom. They began seriously to consider how the troubles of France might be composed, and something like a settled government erected out of the elements that were around them. Their plans resulted in the establishment of two legislative councils; one of elders, as it was called, which should consist of married men, upwards of fifty years of age; the other, of five hundred young men between the ages of twenty-five and forty. Meanwhile they determined to commit the executive to a directory of five; but, weary as the French people were of the system of terror under which they had so long lived, this project for its removal was not adopted without a struggle. Mobs were excited in all the sections of the city, which, without very well knowing what it was that they desired,

threatened the members of the Convention with death. It was now that Napoleon Buonaparte, who, since the siege of Toulon, had been comparatively little noticed, found an opportunity to establish a reputation for courage and talent such as never afterwards failed him. He had returned dissatisfied from Italy, after serving as a chief of battalion, had been refused further employment by the War-Minister, and was an idler in the streets, when the failure of General Menou to disarm a body of insurgent national guards opened a way to his ambition, of which he gladly availed himself. Barras, the successor of Menou, had witnessed Buonaparte's skill and bravery before the lines of Toulon; he immediately recommended the little Corsican officer as a fit person to restore peace to the capital, and Buonaparte, confident in the extent of his own resources, undertook the charge. The Parisians were mowed down with discharges of grape, and the Convention triumphed. But the services of the future emperor were not limited to this any more than his rewards were confined to a vote of thanks from the Convention. He was nominated, through Barras' influence, commander-in-chief of the army in Italy; where he achieved successes hitherto unequalled in the annals of modern warfare.

CHAPTER V.

WAR WITH FRANCE TO THE PEACE OF AMIENS.

SECTION I.—A.D. 1795–1797.

The War to the Battle of Cape St. Vincent: including Napoleon's Italian Campaign.

ALL this while the affairs of the Coalition presented an appearance by no means satisfactory. The campaign of 1793 ended as has been described; that of 1794 proved a great deal more fertile in disasters, when the Duke of York, unable to resist the multitudes whom the enemy brought against him, was driven from one position to another, and compelled to take ground under cover of the rivers in Holland. It is true that, by sea, the British arms were successful. Besides the loss which the enemy had sustained by the destruction of the arsenal at Toulon, they suffered severely in a naval action on the memorable 1st of June, when the Brest fleet of twenty sail engaged Lord Howe, and were defeated. But important as that victory was, it did not suffice to compensate the allies for the derangement of plans anxiously laid, and the overthrow of hopes fondly nourished. On the frontiers of Germany, the combined Austrian and Prussian forces were worsted in many encounters, and driven from many important places. So completely, indeed, were their spirits broken, that the Duke of Brunswick resigned his command; and the King of Prussia, instigated in part by an unworthy jealousy of the Emperor, began to meditate a withdrawal from the Coalition. In Flanders, too, all went wrong. It was to no purpose that the Duke of York gained the brilliant victory of Valenciennes, or the Austrians repulsed the French near Mons, and compelled them to repass the Sambre. Instead of being discouraged by such defeats, the Republicans seemed to acquire new resolution; while their numbers, fed by the enthusiasm of the

moment, swelled from day to day, till they became altogether irresistible. Onwards the tide poured. From Tournay to Oudenarde, and from Oudenarde to Antwerp, the Duke was forced to fall back, fighting at every step; while Charleroi, Ypres, Brussels, Ghent, the whole, indeed, of the Belgian towns, opened their gates to the conqueror. Nor was it found practicable to maintain, after the frost set in, even Holland, into which the allies betook themselves. Crossing the rivers and canals on the ice, Pichegru, a leading Republican general, drove in the British posts, and broke the allied line in many parts, so that there remained to them only one chance of safety, namely, in retreat. Seldom has a military operation been productive of greater hardships to those engaged, or afforded scope for the display of more heroic endurance under sufferings. Repeatedly engaged with their pursuers, and always with success, the British troops continued their retreat, amidst the rigours of a winter unusually severe, and through a population everywhere hostile. Their loss was necessarily severe; nevertheless, they reached Osnaburg, a neutral principality, with spirits and order unbroken; and, having reposed themselves there a few weeks, re-embarked early in the spring of 1795, and returned to England.

From this time forth, the superiority of the French arms on the Continent became daily more and more decided. Prussia, after accepting from England a subsidy of four millions and a half, shamelessly seceded from the Coalition. Spain and Hesse Cassel followed her example; while the Low Countries, including Holland, from which the Prince of Orange had withdrawn, became integral portions of the Republic. In Austria alone, with the Italian States dependent on her, England continued to find a brave and faithful ally. But Austria, in spite of the valour of her troops, and the experience of her veteran generals, found herself unable to cope on any point with the youthful vigour of the enemy. Napoleon Buonaparte, at the head of a starving yet enthusiastic army, broke into Italy by the shores of the Mediterranean, overthrew in many battles the Austrian and Piedmontese commanders, and compelled them to retreat in confusion, the one into the Milanese territory, the other towards Turin. The latter he pressed with so much vigour that the high-minded King of Sardinia was reduced to the necessity of accepting a peace, under the walls of his own capital, on the

terms proposed by the conqueror; while the former vainly endeavoured to protract the struggle till reinforcements should arrive, by placing the Po between him and danger. But the Po itself, though both broad and deep, and guarded by some of the best troops in the world, presented no obstacle to the genius of Napoleon. He deceived and out-manœuvred the German general, passed the river at Piacenza, full fifty miles below the point where his advance had been anticipated, and falling on the Austrians as they came up in detail, cut them to pieces. Then followed the passage of the Adda at Lodi, an affair which has never been surpassed in point of hardihood and courage, but of which the success may be attributed not more to the skill of the French than to the injudicious arrangements made to resist an attack by the Austrian general. The bridge of Lodi was carried by a sudden rush of French grenadiers, in the face of a concentrated fire from twenty pieces of cannon, merely because Beaulieu had drawn up his infantry so far to the rear of his batteries that the one species of force could render no timely assistance to the other.

The passage of the Adda was soon followed by the fall of Milan, which again paved the way for the humiliation of the Duke of Parma, the Pope, and the Duke of Modena: all of these princes were compelled to purchase an insecure neutrality at a very heavy cost. Not money, and horses, and provisions alone, were supplied by them for the use of the invading army, but they were compelled to give up to its leader such works of art, paintings, and specimens of sculpture as he selected, all of which were sent off to enrich the collection which was already forming at Paris in the gallery of the Louvre. Meanwhile, Napoleon continued to follow up the wreck of the German army, which withdrew across the Mincio; and then suppressed, with relentless cruelty, an insurrection in Pavia. The latter, of course, did not long detain him; and in prosecuting the former, he was so successful that, except from the towers of Mantua and the citadel of Milan, the Austrian banners no longer waved in Italy. But the passage of the Mincio necessarily brought him into collision with Venice, which, though it afforded an asylum to Louis XVIII., had hitherto maintained a strict neutrality. No regard was paid to the law of nations in dealing with the Venetian republic. The senate was informed that they had provoked the

hostility of the French nation by permitting a denounced and degraded aristocrat to dwell among them; and Verona, with other places along the line of the Adige, was seized without scruple. Thus was Buonaparte enabled to form the siege of Mantua; to carry on which he left a portion of his forces, while with the remainder he himself returned to Milan, that he might prepare for new undertakings.

The King of Naples, overawed by these proceedings, had proclaimed a neutrality, and the Archduke of Tuscany was trodden under foot; when Austria, whose courage and perseverance were as commendable as her tardiness of movement was the reverse, began again to act with vigour on the side of Italy. From the Rhine, where the Archduke Charles kept his ground, General Wurmser was detached with thirty thousand men; and taking the route of the Tyrol, whence he drew valuable reinforcements, he debouched with not less than eighty thousand into the plains. Unfortunately, however, confident in his superior numbers, he so divided his columns of march that they were attacked one by one and overthrown. Mantua was, indeed, revictualled, and a splendid battering-train taken, which the besiegers, called away to more active operations in the field, were unable to remove; but such an advantage told as nothing in the general result of the campaign, which cost the Austrians forty thousand men. Nevertheless, Wurmser was not easily subdued. Once more he assembled among the Tyrolean mountains, and once more marched towards Mantua, leaving a division to cover Trent, and keep open his communications with the rear. But the rapidity of Napoleon's movements, and the accuracy of his combinations, again set the ordinary rules of warfare at defiance. He seized Trent, left Massena with a sufficient force to maintain it, and turning back in pursuit of Wurmser, overtook and brought him to action at Bassano. The Austrians were totally routed; and their leader, with twenty thousand men, disorganised and broken in spirit, was forced to seek shelter within the walls of Mantua.

Not yet hopeless of recovering their influence in Lombardy, the Austrians sent fresh armies under fresh leaders to the scene of action. An army was sent into the Tyrol; and for the first time since he passed the Alps, Napoleon was compelled to give ground. But the fierce and desperate battle of Arcola renewed again in both armies the sense of superiority on the part of the

French; and the Austrians, though scarcely defeated, drew back. Then came other actions, and the surrender of Mantua, under circumstances alike honourable to the besiegers and the besieged. The brave old Wurmser had held the town till his very horses were eaten, and his funds exhausted; while Napoleon, to mark his sense of so much gallantry and heroism, admitted him to terms, though well aware he must surrender at discretion within three days. The scenes which followed, the plunder to which all Italy was subjected, the insults offered to its princes and chiefs, and the atrocities committed on its inhabitants, were only what was to be expected. Wherever the French troops arrived, they brought with them the poison of revolutionary opinions; which, being eagerly imbibed by the rabble of the great towns, caused a complete dissolution in the bands of social existence. The Pope, driven to despair by the exactions imposed upon him, took up arms; he was defeated, and stripped of all political influence even in his own capital. The King of Naples, who had secretly encouraged the movement, did not escape unscathed, and in other quarters where symptoms of disaffection had appeared, the French soldiers took terrible revenge. But the arrival at Rivoli of the Archduke Charles in person, called away the attention of their leader to higher objects; and he again made ready to fight for the conquests which he had so often vindicated. The opportune arrival of twenty thousand recruits enabled him, however, to act on a new principle. He no longer waited to be attacked, but advancing against the Archduke, drove him back, after severe fighting, from the Tagliamento, a branch of the Po, and interposed himself between the Austrians and the high road to Vienna. A series of operations followed, which, producing frequent rencounters between the French and Austrian armies, ended in the forcing, by the former, of the passes of the Julian Alps; while the latter drew off in the direction of the Tyrol, and left the capital, to all appearance, at the mercy of the invader.

It was at this juncture that Venice, after maintaining so long an unwilling neutrality, broke into hostility. The intelligence which reached him of that event gave Napoleon little concern; but when he heard at the same time that, in Tyrol, his lieutenants had sustained a check, and that his lines of communication with the rear were likely to be interrupted, he became anxious. Not even in these circumstances, however, did his presence of mind forsake

him. He offered, in the language of a conqueror, to treat with the Archduke respecting peace, and attacked and gained advantages over him as soon as the overtures were signed. He then pushed forward towards Vienna. But he had an able ally in the terror of the Austrian Court, whom the earnest remonstrances of the Archduke could not hold back from negotiation, so that there arrived, on April 13, two officers in the French camp, having authority from the Emperor to treat for a peace. No great difficulty was experienced in arranging the terms of an armistice. Preliminaries were likewise adjusted, which both parties agreed to keep secret till a more convenient moment should arrive for discussing them in detail; and the French, delivered from a situation of great peril and perplexity, marched back into Italy. The vengeance inflicted upon Venice was both sudden and exemplary. In the payment of heavy fines, in the surrender of pictures, manuscripts, and the famous horses of St. Mark's, the fallen Republic paid the penalty of a movement, which, undertaken when it was, could lead only to the ruin of those engaged in it.

The situation of England all this while, with reference both to her foreign and domestic relations, was extremely critical. The failure of the Duke of York's expedition cast a gloom over the minds of the well-affected, while the exertions made in consequence to recruit both the sea and land forces, furnished ample subject of complaint to the seditious and the cowardly. Jacobinism, moreover, became more and more a disease in every corner of the empire. In the great towns in particular, especially in London, and in the more populous places of Scotland, the worst spirit prevailed. Corresponding societies were instituted, which avowed themselves the advocates of principles altogether at variance with those of the British Constitution; nor were there wanting men both of rank and influence to give countenance to their proceedings, and to promote their views, possibly without intending to do so. In 1794, this spirit attained to such a height that many arrests took place, and several persons being put upon their trial, one, by name Watt, a native of Scotland, was executed. But of the remainder, some received sentences of banishment only for a period of fourteen years, while by far the greater number were acquitted.

The year 1795 was rendered memorable in the annals of Great Britain, by a ferocious attack made upon the King while he was

proceeding to open the session of Parliament at Westminster. Wild cries arose from the mob, such as 'No war,' 'No Pitt,' 'Down with George,' 'Liberty and equality,' while a shower of stones, and even a pistol-ball directed against the carriage, told how inveterate were the feelings of those who uttered them. But of all the monarchs that ever filled the English throne, George III. was the best fitted to treat this popular ebullition as it deserved. His foreign policy had not, perhaps, been wisely conducted. He had adventured a second expedition to the Continent, by landing on the shores of Quiberon Bay a mixed force composed of emigrants, one or two English regiments, and a body of volunteers gathered from prison hulks, which, being wretchedly conducted, and wholly inadequate in point of numbers, sustained a signal defeat. But at home his proceedings were marked with much more of energy. While he humoured the dispositions of the really patriotic, by sending Lord Malmesbury to Paris, with full powers to conclude, if possible, a peace with the existing French Government, he did not scruple to recommend, through his Minister, a suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. It was a daring step to take, but the circumstances of the times required it; and the events of the next two or three years gave proof that it had not been taken unadvisedly.

Lord Malmesbury's mission failed, as all thinking persons had anticipated, and an extraordinary depression overspread the public mind. The funds fell greatly, nor was confidence restored by the suspension, in 1797, of cash payments from the Bank. It appeared, indeed, to most men, that England had engaged in a struggle which could not but end in her ruin, for her allies had one by one forsaken her, while of her own children there were many who did not wish her well. But Providence had so ordered it that in this dark hour of trial her counsels should be directed by one who, if occasionally he erred in too prodigal an application of her resources, was under all circumstances sensitively jealous of her honour. There broke in, too, from time to time, upon the gloom of her prospects, the report of victories both by land and sea, which, while it assured her rulers of the undiminished valour of British soldiers and sailors, taught even the desponding to hope for better days. Thus during the years 1796 and 1797, almost all the West India Islands belonging to France and Holland were reduced. Trinidad was in like manner wrested from the Spani-

ards, while nearer their own shores the confederates sustained a memorable disaster, in the overthrow of a fleet which it had cost many years of assiduous exertion and great expenditure to organise. On February 14, Sir John Jervis, while cruising off Cape St. Vincent, with fifteen sail-of-the-line, descried, and brought to action, a combined French and Spanish fleet of twenty-seven sail. Notwithstanding so vast a disparity of force, the skill of the admiral, aided by the valour of the ships' companies, prevailed. Jervis defeated the enemy, took four sail, two of them carrying 112 guns each, and compelled the remainder to seek safety within the harbour of Cadiz.

SECTION II.—A.D. 1797–1799.

Course of the War to the end of Buonaparte's Campaign in Egypt.

Two events now befell, both of them calculated to strike terror into the bosoms of the well-disposed, and to increase, in a proportionate degree, the confidence of the enemy. On April 15, 1797, a mutiny broke out among the crews of the squadron assembled in Portsmouth harbour. For some time previously discontents had been known to prevail; indeed, the Lords of the Admiralty had received many anonymous communications, in which complaints of scanty pay and inadequate allowances were brought forward, and demands made for redress. But it was not till the morning of the day just specified, when the signal for sailing was hung out, that the height to which the feeling extended became manifest. Instead of obeying the signal, the crew of the 'Queen Charlotte' cheered, and the cheer was returned from all the vessels around. No violence, however, was offered to the commanders, of whom the most obnoxious only were put on shore, while the delegates appointed by the seamen drew up a protest, in which they made known what they considered to be their wrongs, and the proper mode of redressing them. The seamen's complaints were not groundless, and the Government felt that the case was so. They were accordingly taken into consideration, and a vote of the House of Commons was easily procured, authorising the Minister to comply with their wishes. But scarcely was the Portsmouth squadron brought to order, when the fleet at the Nore rebelled, and the seamen at that station, being under the control of more able as well as more

determined leaders, the task of reducing them to obedience proved at once more tedious and more difficult; but the brave men, whom the irritation of the moment thus drove into crime, were not disaffected to their country. They began, therefore, one by one to fall off from their leaders, till at last the well-disposed prevailing, even in point of numbers, over the more obdurate, all the ships submitted. Parker, a man of strong natural talents, and not deficient in education, who had sown the seed of the mutiny, and brought it to perfection, was, with several other delegates, tried and executed. To all the rest a free pardon was given; and they afterwards proved, in numerous encounters with the enemy, that neither their loyalty nor their courage had ever been shaken.

The minds of men were scarcely recovered from the shock which these events had occasioned, when a rebellion which had long been meditated, and of the progress of which the Government was aware, burst forth with great force in Ireland. The malcontents being organised, the society of United Irishmen opened a communication with France, from which supplies, chiefly of arms and money, were solicited for the purpose of equipping for the field not fewer than 150,000 insurgents. With great zeal the Directory entered into the scheme, and early in October 1797, a fleet was sent to sea, which, being composed partly of Dutch, partly of French ships, contained warlike stores in abundance, as well as officers to train and organise the promised levies. But the British seamen had by this time returned to their duty, and a squadron under the command of Admiral Duncan cruised off the Texel, which, falling in with the enemy, engaged them on the 11th, in the great Battle of Camperdown, took nine of their ships, and chased the remainder into port. Still the conspiracy went forward. The winter was spent in devising plans, the spring in discussing the best means of acting upon them; when spies, introduced by Government into the meetings of the traitors, gave notice that the final arrangements were made. Immediately, warrants of arrest were issued against the principal actors in the movement, of whom fourteen were seized in Dublin. The rest, alarmed each for his own safety, hurried on the catastrophe, and at various places throughout the country, particularly at Naas, Carlow, and Wexford, hostilities began. It seemed, indeed, as if all the bad passions

which had for centuries rankled in the breasts of Irishmen were then let loose, for the progress of the rebels from point to point might be traced by the smoke of burning villages and the carcases of the inhabitants whom they had murdered on their own thresholds. But though Ireland suffered greatly, not in the loss of life alone, but in the disruption of all the ties of good faith between man and man, the issue of the movement was never for a moment doubtful. Wherever the King's troops met them the rebels were defeated; the decisive actions of Ballinahinch and Vinegar Hill, fought, the former on the 12th, the latter on the 21st of June, 1798, so completely broke the spirit of the rebels, that not even the landing of a French brigade at Killala, on August 22 following, could induce them again to take arms. It is true that General Humbert's corps was not numerous; that it could boast no cannon, and came but slenderly provided with arms; and it is likewise true that the force directed against it was overwhelming. But, as the Irish are not very apt in such cases to balance the chances of success against those of failure, it is probable that even Humbert's corps, had it arrived at an earlier stage in the rebellion, would have proved exceedingly troublesome. As it was, the French, after obtaining some success over the yeomanry, and traversing to no purpose a considerable extent of country, laid down their arms on September 8, at a place called Ballinamuck, to the troops which Lord Cornwallis led in pursuit.

While these melancholy scenes were acting in Ireland, the French had assembled a large army along the coasts, and made an ostentatious declaration of their purpose of carrying it across the Channel, and dictating the terms of peace in London. They had, in the month of February 1797, thrown fourteen hundred men of the lowest character on shore at Fishguard, in Pembrokeshire. These, however, never fired a shot, for on the appearance of the Lord-Lieutenant, at the head of an armed population, they hung out a flag of truce and surrendered. But now the threatened invasion was of a much more formidable nature; and, above all, Buonaparte himself appeared as its intended leader, set free from anxiety on the side of Germany and Italy by the treaty of Campo Formio, which made peace between France and Austria. Great exertions were of course made to avert the storm if possible; or, in the event of its bursting, to meet it as became

Englishmen; but no storm came. On the contrary, while every Briton between the ages of eighteen and forty-five was in arms, and a prodigious naval force swept the Channel night and day, Buonaparte, having quietly embarked his troops, set sail for Toulon, and steered first for Malta, and afterwards for Egypt. It was to the English Empire in India, of the importance of which, as a source of wealth, the French appear always to have entertained an exaggerated idea, that the members of the Directory had turned their attention; and partly with the hope of assailing that, partly with the view of erecting a rival to it in the land of the Pharaohs, they equipped the present armament.

As soon as the departure of the French fleet became known, the several squadrons afloat were directed to be on the alert, and especially to watch the coasts of Ireland, where now a descent was apprehended. While others obeyed these instructions to the letter, Nelson, acting upon one of those impressions which genius of the highest order alone receives, steered his course to the Mediterranean; and finding that Buonaparte had possessed himself of Malta, at once divined his intentions. To pursue was the effect of impulse, an impulse which at once urged him to perform the best service to his country, and to acquire for himself a renown that can never perish; and, on August 1, he had the happiness to discover the enemy at anchor in the Bay of Aboukir. The troops, indeed, were all on shore; they had landed on June 29, and had already achieved, under their renowned leader, repeated victories over the famous Turkish horsemen called the Mamelukes. But Nelson's business was with the French fleet; and now, after having unwittingly passed it, while yet the General was on board, it lay before him. He permitted no consideration of his own inferiority in number of guns and weight of metal, nor yet of the formidable position of the enemy, between two headlands armed with cannon, to throw a damp on the ardour of his men. A brief space being devoted to reconnoitre, the signal to attack was hung out; and the British ships moved on in one continuous column, regardless of the heavy fire which met them, till each had laid herself alongside of the antagonist with which she had been commanded to engage.

The battle of the Nile began at six o'clock in the evening and continued without any interruption during the whole night. The flashes of the adverse guns alone showed the marksmen how to

direct their aim, till l'Orient, the French admiral's ship, which mounted eighty guns, took fire, and threw a lurid glare over the face of the bay. By the light of that tremendous conflagration the seamen fought, till a crash so loud as to drown the roar of the artillery, followed by darkness the most profound, told that she had exploded. The combatants seemed like men entranced; insomuch that, for the space of two or three minutes, not a shot was heard. But the pause did not continue longer; for one by one the guns sent forth their voices, till the fire became as incessant as ever. When morning dawned there were but two French ships left, from the masts or yards of which the tri-coloured flag was flying. These hastily cut their cables and fled, accompanied by two frigates; the remainder, amounting to ten sail-of-the-line and one frigate, remained as trophies in possession of the victors.

The consequences of this victory were much more important than the destruction of an enemy's fleet; fatal as, under existing circumstances, even that could hardly fail of proving to the isolated army of Egypt. No sooner was the event known in Europe, than it roused into action a spirit which had not ceased to work even during the worst of times. A new coalition against France was formed: Russia and Turkey joined it, and the Italian States, assured of support from the Emperor, made haste to declare themselves. The French, about this time, had wantonly carried their arms into Switzerland, and established there what they termed the Helvetian Republic; an act which necessarily drew upon them the hatred of a people jealous of the renown of their forefathers, and not indisposed to maintain it; these, therefore, from various cantons, gave in their adhesion to the league. Hence the flames of war soon began to rage on all sides of devoted France. A Russian army, under Marshal Suwarrow, obtained great successes in Italy, and penetrated into Switzerland. An Austrian army, under Archduke Charles, carried all before it on the Rhine. England, though free with her treasure, was not yet prodigal of her blood; but of an attempt which she made to restore the Prince of Orange, it is necessary to give some account.

The States had felt for some years the pressure of a French alliance; and communications from many quarters hinted that the people were impatient under it; when the British Government, encouraged by the successes of the allies elsewhere, resolved to make Holland once more the scene of warlike opera-

tions. A force was in consequence assembled, which, including fifteen thousand Russians, amounted in all to five-and-thirty thousand men; and, the Duke of York being nominated to the chief command, the expedition set sail for the Helder. Sir Ralph Abercrombie, who led the advance of twelve thousand British soldiers, easily made good his landing. He was attacked on the beach, and drove back the enemy; after which he took up a position immediately in the rear of the Zuyper, and there waited till the rest of the army arrived. But neither were the details of the service carried on with sufficient spirit, nor was the information possessed by the commanders accurate. Not a Dutchman joined the allied standards; while the French general received strong reinforcements from day to day, till his numerical force equalled, ere long, if it did not surpass, that of the invaders. Several battles were fought, in all of which the British soldiers well supported their character for gallantry and endurance; but not a rood of territory was won. Finally, after delaying till the winter was at hand, and ascertaining that no movement was likely to take place in his favour, the Duke of York resolved to abandon the enterprise. A convention was accordingly entered into with the enemy, by which the allies, restoring their prisoners, were permitted to embark, and to carry their artillery and stores with them. An attempt was, moreover, made by the French general, to obtain a restitution of the Dutch fleet, which had come into the hands of the English when the Texel fell; but to this the admiral would not consent. The ships were carried to England: a poor compensation for the waste of treasure and blood which had been expended on this abortive undertaking!

All this while the general progress of events in Paris, on the frontiers of France, and in Africa, was tending, in a very remarkable manner, to bring about the elevation of the most extraordinary man of whom modern history makes mention. In the midst of a career of victories, which carried him from Alexandria to the Isthmus of Suez, Buonaparte heard of the destruction of his fleet. Nothing daunted, he pushed into Syria, where he defeated a body of Mamelukes in a night attack, and made himself master of El Arish. He then crossed the desert, penetrated into Palestine, again overthrew a corps of Mamelukes, and laid siege to Jaffa. It was defended with great resolution,

but fell at last by storm; twelve hundred men, the remains of the garrison, becoming prisoners of war. But Buonaparte had no means of securing his captives; he therefore separated such as were Egyptians from the Turks; sent the former back to their own country, and, leaving the latter to be marched to the sand-hills on the south-east of the town, massacred them in cold blood. The same plea of necessity by which he afterwards endeavoured to explain away the ferocity of this savage act, was urged by Buonaparte in vindication of another deed, at which the mind shudders. He who butchered his Turkish captives, soon afterwards emptied his own hospitals in Syria, by causing poison to be administered to the unfortunate French soldiers who occupied them.

From Jaffa, Buonaparte advanced to Acre, a place famous for the sieges which it sustained during the Crusades, and scarce less memorable now, in consequence of the check first given beneath its walls to him whose course had as yet been that of the conqueror. He invested it on March 30, and for a space of sixty days pressed the siege with all the vigour of which he was capable. But Commodore Sir Sidney Smith, who commanded a flying squadron on the coast, had thrown himself into the citadel, and with a handful of seamen, received and repelled not less than eight assaults. The patience of the French troops gave way, and their ammunition and stores were exhausted. Napoleon was therefore compelled to retreat, and on June 14 he re-entered Cairo.

The prospects of Buonaparte, and of the troops under his command, were at this time gloomy enough. Cut off, by the destruction of the fleet, from all hope of succour from Europe, they beheld their vision of universal conquest in the East fade away; and though Egypt seemed tranquil, it was impossible to calculate how long a tranquillity so insecure would continue. The landing, indeed, of eighteen thousand Turks in the Bay of Aboukir, which occurred soon afterwards, as well as a movement of Mamelukes down the Nile, showed that even the dominion which they had acquired there must be maintained, from day to day, by the sword. But Buonaparte, whose resolution seems already to have been taken, expressed neither surprise nor regret at the intelligence. He marched, on the contrary, with all haste to Alexandria, assembled every disposable man under his standard,

and on July 25 attacked and cut to pieces the undisciplined invaders. It was the last military service which he performed in that part of the world; for while his soldiers yet doubted to what purpose the victory would be turned, they heard, to their great surprise, that he was gone.

SECTION III.—A.D. 1799–1802.

Course of the War to the Peace of Amiens.

NAPOLEON'S departure from Egypt, however it might surprise the troops, from whom it had been kept secret, was not a measure dictated by a mere regard to personal safety. Repeated intimations had reached him of the anarchy which prevailed in France, as well as of the disgrace which attended all her military efforts. In Italy, her armies were overpowered; on the Rhine, they scarcely maintained themselves; the Duke of York was in Holland, with a formidable array; and La Vendée was again in confusion. But that which affected him most deeply, was the assurance which he received that the government of the Directory was fallen into contempt. There is no longer cause to doubt that, ever since his achievements in Italy had rendered him the idol of the soldiers, Napoleon gave himself up to the most ambitious projects. Even from Egypt, the country of the Pharaohs, though he hoped to render it the centre of a new system for the East, he never ceased to keep his eye fixed upon the West also; and now, feeling that the critical moment of action was arrived, he hastened to improve it. To Kleber and Menou, both of them men of experience, both, too, of high character, which the former, at least, deserved, he accordingly committed the management of the Egyptian Republic; and embarking privately on board a frigate, made his way unnoticed, through seas which swarmed with British cruisers, and on October 9, 1799, landed at Frejus.

Buonaparte hurried to Paris, where the reception which awaited him was of the most gratifying and enthusiastic kind. Disgusted with the imbecility and abhorring the profligacy of their rulers, the people looked to him as a regenerator of France; and he was not backward in proving that he had entertained his own ideas on that subject. Like Oliver Crom-

well, however, he determined to make a purpose so holy go hand in hand with the furtherance of his own views. He had some supporters in the two councils; though his chief reliance was upon the troops. The former persuaded the Council of Ancients to nominate Napoleon Buonaparte to the command of the 17th military division, and to transfer their own sitting, with that of the Five Hundred, to St. Cloud, to the south of Paris. This was followed by the breaking up of the Directory, which the new commandant reproached, in a proclamation, with all the ills which then bore upon France. Then came stormy debates in both chambers; the Republicans exclaiming against the general as a dictator, and demanding the ratification of the constitution of the year III. (1794)—his adherents, with his brother Lucien at their head, clamouring to be heard. But the same arguments prevailed at St. Cloud in the eighteenth century, which had been so successfully applied in the seventeenth at London. Napoleon's grenadiers emptied both halls; and the supreme authority remained in the hands of the conqueror.

Lofty were the expectations of better days to come, which this important revolution excited, as well among those who desired a restoration of the monarchy, as among the Republicans. But they were alike doomed to be overthrown. Buonaparte remodelled the constitution entirely. He himself, with the title of First Consul, wielded the army, the navy, and indeed all the authority of the state; while as assistants he had a senate, chosen by himself, in which two other consuls had seats; and a legislative body selected by the senate; but no law could be enacted unless it originated with him. With respect, again, to inferior agents, he appointed to offices of trust and responsibility men of all parties and all professions, provided only they satisfied him that their fidelity could be relied upon. 'We shall form,' said he, 'a new epoch; of what has passed we must remember only the good, and forget the bad.' Hence, with Cambacères and Le Brun as his brother consuls, he made choice of Talleyrand and Fouché—the one as minister of foreign affairs, the other as superintendent of police; and though men wondered for a while how a machine so compounded could be brought to act, they gradually fell into his views, and respected his decision.

The first act of Napoleon in his new capacity as ruler of France was to address an autograph letter to the King of Eng-

land, in which he set forth the advantages which would arise to both countries were their enmity to cease. No satisfactory notice was, however, taken of the appeal, for the English Cabinet could not place reliance in a Government which, as it began in the violence of a moment, so might by the violence of a moment be destroyed. Accordingly, the First Consul made ready for war; and marching himself into Italy, and employing Moreau, one of the most eminent French generals, to fight the Austrians and Russians upon the Rhine, he added from day to day fresh wreaths to the laurels which he had formerly earned. His passage of the Alps where they are the steepest, at the pass of Mont St. Bernard, when guns, wheel-carriages, ammunition, and stores were literally swung from rock to rock, equalled, if it did not surpass, the famous march of Hannibal; while his course, after that mountain-barrier had been surmounted, resembled that of the avalanche. Yet had his career been well-nigh stopped by very humble means. On the bank of the Dora, where it issues from a rugged defile of the same name, stands the town and citadel of St. Bard, the latter an insignificant fortress, though strongly planted, so as to command the only road into the plain. To lay siege to such a place would have cost both time and lives; to turn it was impossible, except at a still heavier cost. By the simple expedient of covering the street with straw and dung Buonaparte drew his cannon in the dead of night under the muzzles of the Austrian guns. From that moment his success was certain.

When Buonaparte entered Italy, Genoa, almost the last hold which the Republic retained on the country, was invested on the land side by the Austrians, under General Melas; by Lord Keith with a British fleet by sea. It was obstinately defended by Massena, and it constituted the primary object of the invasion from Mont St. Bernard to raise this siege. But energetic as Napoleon was, he could not work impossibilities, and Genoa fell. Ignorant of that event, however, he pushed on; and while Melas held his superior army in hand so as to cover Turin, the French entered Milan. There they were soon joined by twenty thousand men, whom Moreau had detached from the Army of the Rhine; and marching across the Po, fell in with and defeated, at Montebello, the very corps, under General Ott, to which Genoa had submitted. From the prisoners which he took that day, Napo-

leon first learned the truth; nevertheless, there was still more than enough left for which to contend. Melas was approaching, and having formed a junction with the remains of Ott's army, took up a position in the First Consul's front, the river Bormida flowing between them. Some manœuvring followed, during which, Buonaparte, imagining that Melas had withdrawn, detached a third part of his force, under General Dessaix, in pursuit; and thus, with scarcely twenty thousand men, exposed himself to the hazard of an attack from forty thousand veterans. Melas immediately crossed the river, furiously assailed the French in their position near Marengo, and after half a day's hard fighting compelled them in great confusion to change their front. But at this critical juncture, Dessaix, who had been early sent for, returned, and the fugitives found a strong reserve drawn up in the rear, on which they rallied. It was now, when Melas, worn down with fatigue and the weight of eighty years, had quitted the field in the assurance that the battle was won, that Dessaix led on a sudden and furious charge of cavalry, which nothing could resist. He himself, indeed, the companion and friend of Buonaparte from early youth, fell by a musket-shot in the head; but his horsemen rode through the Austrian columns, and compelled six battalions to lay down their arms. In a moment the tide of battle turned; and they who half an hour previously were seen scattered in hot and heedless pursuit now fled across the plain in confusion, or died under the sabres of the enemy.

The loss of the battle of Marengo, together with a succession of disasters elsewhere, so broke the spirit of the Emperor, that on February 9, 1801, he concluded with the French Republic the Peace of Luneville. Meanwhile, England had been engaged in many warlike operations, almost all of which redounded to her own glory, however little they might affect the state of Europe. Malta, in which Buonaparte, while on his passage from Toulon, had left a garrison, was reduced. The army which achieved this conquest was largely reinforced, and sent, under the command of Sir Ralph Abercrombie, to act against the French in Egypt. It effected a landing at Aboukir, on March 8, in spite of a brave resistance on the part of the enemy. A second battle was fought before dawn on the 21st, in which victory was again secured, though at the expense of a life endeared to the whole British army, that of the gallant veteran by whom

this portion of it was led on. Abercrombie received, during the action, a musket-shot in the thigh, which he either did not perceive or refused to notice. He kept the field till the firing ceased, and was then conveyed on board ship, to die a few days afterwards. Still the business of the campaign went on. General Hutchinson, on whom the command devolved, followed up the victory with great spirit. He threatened Alexandria, laid siege to Cairo, and reduced the enemy to such straits, that, perceiving further resistance to be useless, and being little desirous of continuing all their lives in honourable exile, they submitted on capitulation, and were carried back to Europe.

During this campaign a spectacle was presented, such as no eye had ever witnessed before, and of which it is scarcely to be expected that it will be seen again. An army of 20,000 Sepoys, under the command of Sir David Baird, after performing an extraordinary march from their own country, appeared upon the Nile. For not in Europe and in Africa only, but in Asia also, had England been earning a high renown in arms, by the extension of her dominions over by far the greatest portion of the great peninsula of India. The fall of Tippoo Sahib, described elsewhere, left Great Britain the undisputed arbiter of the destinies of India: and enabled Lord Wellesley to equip that expedition, the arrival of which under the walls of Cairo occasioned equal surprise and admiration among the troops of both hemispheres.

It was not, however, by the achievements of her armies alone that England was adding all this while to the amount of her ancient glory. Her fleets swept the seas in every quarter of the globe. Not only France and Spain, but the Powers on the Baltic also, felt the weight of her prowess, the Emperor Paul of Russia having persuaded them to combine for the purpose of ruining her commerce. For Admiral Parker, having under him the gallant Nelson, was soon at the scene of action, and forcing the passage of the Sound, attacked the Danish fleet, though anchored under the guns of Copenhagen. A desperate battle ensued, during which the English were at one moment in an extremely critical situation. But the indomitable courage of the seamen, directed by such talents as those of Nelson, overcame every difficulty, and the Danes were persuaded to yield at the very time when a continuation of hostilities for half an hour longer must have secured to them the victory.

While Mr. Pitt laboured to overwhelm a people who, themselves the slaves of misrule, desired to extend the same throughout the world, he ceased not to watch with an anxious eye over the internal tranquillity of his own country. The Jacobins, of whom there were still many both in England and Scotland, were narrowly observed; the most vigorous steps were taken to hinder them from maturing their treason; and, above all, a project was devised, and successfully carried through, for the establishment of better relations between the different portions of the empire. Though the Irish parliaments had never been famous for their resistance to the influence of the crown, the Irish people, possessing a separate legislature, had not learned to look upon themselves except as a separate nation. Pitt determined to put an end to this delusion by uniting the parliaments; and not forgetful of the means which had been pursued in Queen Anne's reign for bearing down the opposition of the Scottish senators, he applied them with equal success to those of Ireland, and thus carried his point. It was accordingly declared, that, from and after January 1, 1801, there should be but one House of Lords and one House of Commons for the United Kingdom; that the Irish peerage should be represented by twenty-eight nobles, elected for life out of the body; one hundred members should be chosen by the counties and boroughs to serve in the Lower House; that the Churches of England and Ireland should be united, and both preserved for ever in the enjoyment of the dignities and emoluments then belonging to them, the archbishops and bishops of the latter country being represented in the House of Lords by four of their number sitting in a particular rotation; and that, in respect of trade, mutual intercourse, taxation, and the other incidents of social life, the natives of the one island should stand on the same footing with the natives of the other. Thus were the different parts of the monarchy consolidated. This, however it might offend men's prejudices, or wound their pride for a time, could not, it was hoped, fail, in the end, to work advantageously for the best interests of all concerned. Unfortunately, these hopes have not been altogether realised: and there is still to be found in Ireland a party, strong in numbers, though not in statesmanship, which seems bent upon undoing the work of union then accomplished. One clause of the Act of Union has indeed been repealed, the Church having

been disestablished and disendowed in the year 1868, whether for good or evil remains to be seen.

On January 22, 1801, the first imperial Parliament was opened by commission, under circumstances which could hardly fail of exciting great uneasiness throughout the country. Mr. Pitt, having committed himself with reference to the claims of the Irish Roman Catholics, judged it expedient to retire from office; and Mr. Addington quitted the Speaker's chair to become First Lord of the Treasury.

But the changes were, for a time, rather of men than of measures, for Mr. Addington continued to prosecute the war with vigour, while his domestic policy appeared to differ in few respects from that which his predecessor had sanctioned. It is true that his military efforts were rather defensive than offensive. Deserted, indeed, by all her Continental allies—for even Portugal was by this time won over—England could only act against the enemies' fleets, which were attacked and beaten wherever they showed themselves, till their very harbours scarce afforded them asylums. Thus, on July 6, 1801, off the coast of Spain, Sir James Saumarez fell in with a combined French and Spanish squadron, which he chased till the 12th, and then totally defeated. In like manner Lord Nelson kept the whole line of coast in alarm, while, day after day, he threatened a flotilla at Boulogne, which the French had collected with the avowed design of transporting an army into England. But such successes could not reconcile the people to their burdens, aggravated as these began to be by the pressure of famine, the unavoidable result of a scanty harvest, and the interruption of foreign commerce. The consequence was that, both within and without the Houses of Parliament, a cry was raised for peace, and Mr. Addington, though little confident of the wisdom of the procedure, gave way.

On March 25, 1802, the negotiations, which had for some time been carried on at Amiens, came to a close. England restored all her conquests, with the exception of Ceylon and Trinidad; France was permitted to retain hers, including Holland, Belgium, and the greater part of Italy; and the stipulation being agreed to that Malta should be given up to the Knights of St. John, the sound of war ceased to be heard throughout Europe.

CHAPTER VI.

A.D. 1802–1814.

THE WAR WITH FRANCE FROM THE PEACE OF AMIENS TO THE BANISHMENT OF BUONAPARTE TO ELBA.

SECTION I.—A.D. 1802–1805.

Renewal of the War.

THE relative positions of France and England at the period of the ratification of the Treaty of Amiens, led every prudent person to anticipate that the peace would not be lasting. England came forth from the struggle with a reputation untarnished, it is true, but with a heavy pressure upon her financial means, without any addition to her territorial resources. France, on the other hand, had enlarged herself in every direction, for in Italy, not less than towards the north, her influence was as paramount as if the Italian Republic had been formally united to her own. But, above all, her energies were wielded by a man who gave, day by day, new proofs that if, in one sense, he deserved to be called the child of the Revolution, in another he was destined to be its master. Buonaparte began at once to restore order and consistency both to the government and the social system of France. He caused himself to be elected First Consul—in the beginning for five years, eventually for life—and obtaining, at the same time, authority to nominate his successor, he became, to all intents and purposes, the founder of a new dynasty. He then published a decree of amnesty, which did more to put an end to civil strife than all the victories or all the cruelties of the Republicans. Then followed a formal restoration of the Roman Catholic religion, a re-appointment of bishops and priests, under the sanction of the Pope, and a renewed sanctification of the Lord's Day, and the great festivals

of the Church; and, though last, not least in the estimation of a people so vain as those with whom he had to deal, the institution of a Legion of Honour. By means of that order of merit, into which persons of all professions were admissible, but which had its distinctions of rank according to the degree of celebrity to which the initiated had attained, the First Consul paved the way for a return to the aristocratic system, to which the French had never ceased to be attached.

There had been terrible commotions in the island of St. Domingo—one of the few of her West Indian colonies that remained to France, where revolutionary principles were early taught with a reckless zeal, which led to a general rising among the negroes. The struggle began in 1791, and continued till the end of the century, at which period slavery was abolished, and blacks and whites were declared to possess equal rights and privileges. So long as his hands were occupied with affairs nearer home, Buonaparte could not spare time to think of St. Domingo; but now that there was peace in Europe, he listened to the suggestions of the merchants interested in the trade, and resolved to reduce the island by force of arms. With this view he sent Le Clerc—whose sister, Josephine, he had married—at the head of 40,000 men, across the Atlantic; and a fierce war began, during the progress of which, the atrocities perpetrated on both sides almost exceed belief. But again the negroes prevailed. Le Clerc perished of disease; his soldiers fell victims to the climate and the sword, and St. Domingo remained a solitary independent negro settlement, in the midst of an archipelago of white masters and black servants.

One of the articles of the Treaty of Amiens stipulated that Malta should be restored to the Knights of St. John, a military order which began during the Crusades, and derived its revenues from property in Spain, Portugal, and other zealously Popish countries. But it had, of course, been expected, on the part of England, that the knights should be rendered independent; in other words, that they should continue to enjoy the rents of those estates, which alone enabled them to exist as a distinct body amid the Powers of Europe. Buonaparte, on the other hand, who ceased not to look towards the East, entertained very different ideas. He caused the Spanish Government to sequester the priories, provoked Portugal into a similar proceeding, and

then complained because England hesitated to give up the key of the Mediterranean to a body incapable of maintaining it for a single day. Then, again, the English troops who had lingered in Egypt after the expulsion of Menou, were hindered, by accidental causes, from evacuating Alexandria so soon as had been agreed upon. Buonaparte began in August 1802 to complain bitterly of these infractions of the treaty; while certain libels on his person and character, in which the English newspapers indulged, excited in him a feeling of rancour such as he took no pains either to stifle or conceal. He demanded that such proceedings should be put a stop to—that the French emigrant princes and nobles should be expelled from Britain, and, under the pretext of a fresh expedition to the colonies, early began to increase his armies and assemble fleets. As a measure of common precaution, England armed likewise; and after an uneasy correspondence had been maintained for some time between the Ministers of the two Powers, the English Ambassador was insulted by the First Consul in Paris, the mask was thrown aside, and hostilities began.

The particular act on the part of France which produced a declaration of war from England, was the military occupation of Hanover, an exploit which, though it violated all the rights of the Germanic body, against which no ground of accusation lay, was represented by Buonaparte as a measure of retaliation for the retention of Malta. This was followed by the unjustifiable arrest of all such British subjects as, with a view either to profit or pleasure, chanced to be sojourning on the Continent, and their assignment to a captivity of indefinite duration, the First Consul peremptorily refusing to exchange them. At this time, too, Ireland was again in a very feverish state; and an insurrection broke out, which, though suppressed without difficulty, cost the life of the aged and venerable Lord Kilwarden. He was dragged from his carriage by an infuriated mob, and murdered in the streets of Dublin under the eyes of his daughter. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended; the principal conspirators, including Robert Emmett, a young man of lively imagination and promising talents, were seized and executed, and tranquillity was restored. Nevertheless, the time and circumstances of this rising being considered, Mr. Addington not unnaturally viewed it as of French origin; and hence, whatever reluctance he might have

previously experienced to make the final appeal to the sword, he now ceased to waver.

Mr. Addington, in a laudable anxiety to diminish the pecuniary burdens of the people, had carried his economy too far. The dockyards were deficient in all things necessary to equip a fleet; and the tide of popular prejudice running strongly, he found it necessary to retire from office. Mr. Pitt took his place at the helm; and the same eager, perhaps improvident, zeal which characterised his foreign policy during a former administration, began immediately to work. Large offers were made to the courts of Berlin, Vienna, and St. Petersburg, with the view of drawing them into a fresh coalition against France; nor did Russia seem indisposed, even upon nobler grounds, to resent the gross infraction of existing treaties, of which France had been guilty. But Prussia, Austria, and the states more immediately concerned, had suffered too much in the late struggle to enter rashly on another; and hence Great Britain was left to combat, for a time, single-handed, against the whole power of France.

Nor was it with France alone that the battle lay. Spain supplied ships and money; Italy and the Low Countries contributed each their share; and the whole, having well recruited their resources during the short peace, presented a very formidable front. Yet were the courage of Pitt and the loyalty of England unshaken. In addition to the regular army, amounting to 170,000 men, and a militia containing 110,000, upwards of 400,000 citizens enrolled themselves into corps of volunteers, which held at nought the formation of camps along the coast from Calais to the Hague, and left the seamen free to follow into the most remote regions whatever portions of the enemy's fleet might from time to time escape from their harbours.

While gigantic preparations were making on both sides, an attempt was made in Paris by a few desperate assassins to murder the First Consul, by exploding a barrel of gunpowder in the streets through which his carriage was passing. The explosion took place, but the intended victim escaped; while of the conspirators some fell into the hands of the police, and were executed. By-and-by a fresh conspiracy broke out, in which persons of loftier station were implicated; namely, Pichegru, Georges, one of the chiefs of the Vendéans, Moreau, and, if the evidence of traitors be admitted, the Bourbons themselves.

General Pichegru, to avoid the shame of a public execution, strangled himself in his dungeon; Georges, with nine of his accomplices, died by the hand of the executioner; Moreau had his sentence commuted from two years' imprisonment to exile in America; and an act of unprincipled violence was resorted to, for the purpose of striking terror elsewhere. The Duke d'Enghein, eldest son of the Duke de Bourbon, one of the bravest and most high-minded of his race, was represented as having been privy to this plot. A body of French horse passed the Rhine during the night of March 14, seized him in the castle of Ettenheim, within the grand-duchy of Baden, carried him to Paris, whence he was transferred to Vincennes, and put upon his trial before an arbitrary tribunal, acting under the form of a court-martial. He behaved throughout with becoming courage and constancy, nor was his death unworthy of his name. Having been pronounced guilty of a design to overthrow the established government, he was sentenced to die, and fell at midnight, in the ditch of the castle, under the fire of a body of grenadiers.

The war with Great Britain, and the detected conspiracy of Georges and Pichegru, served as a ladder to Napoleon, by which he was enabled to mount from the consulate to the imperial dignity. An obsequious senate, well drilled in the part which it had to play, implored him to consummate the great work of national regeneration; and, by accepting from the hands of a grateful people the perpetual guardianship of their liberties, to put a stop for ever to the machinations of the enemies of France. Buonaparte affected to hesitate; but was persuaded to yield his own judgment to that of his counsellors. The Pope cheerfully consented to give the apostolic sanction to one who had restored religion to France; and, on December 2, 1804, the coronation of Napoleon I. took place in the cathedral of Notre Dame, amid a display of much more than regal pomp and ceremony. Then arose a new body of princes and marshals, including the Emperor's brothers, and the most distinguished of his generals, while Paris rang in all its quarters to the sounds of mirth and music—sounds, which as they had hailed the downfall of a king, and the erection of an altar of liberty, so now they celebrated the establishment on its ruins of the most complete military despotism that ever prevailed in any country or age of the world.

The example set by France was followed without delay by the several republics in connection with her. Italy became a kingdom, of which Napoleon was elected king. Genoa, with the surrounding districts was finally annexed to the empire, and Europe beheld with amazement a race of mushroom sovereigns springing up in all directions. But the Emperor, delighting as he did in the pomp and circumstances of the court, was too prudent to consider himself safe, while England maintained her independence. He hurried from Lombardy to Boulogne, where upwards of two thousand small vessels, manned by sixteen thousand sailors, were collected, and an encampment, containing one hundred and sixty thousand soldiers, covered the shore.

All this while the efforts of England were directed, first to retain her supremacy at sea, next to rouse the Powers of the Continent from the lethargy into which they appeared to have fallen. An attempt to destroy the flotilla in Boulogne harbour, by means of fire-rafts, led, indeed, to nothing; but not a vessel could leave the anchorage, so active and so daring were the crews of those British ships which watched them where they lay. Mr. Pitt persevered in the course of policy which he believed to be best for his country's interest. He increased the taxes to a large amount, it is true; but the people bore the burden cheerfully, convinced as they were that if ever any nation was engaged in a struggle for existence, England was that nation. Nor were occurrences from time to time wanting which served to cheer him amid his anxieties. Austria, startled at length by the proceedings of the French in Italy, ran to arms; and Russia supporting her with a force of fifty thousand men, a new Continental war began; but, conducted on the part of the allies with little skill, it served only to increase the glories of Napoleon, and, as a necessary consequence, to enlarge his resources. He hurried from Boulogne, to put himself at the head of a numerous and veteran army, passed the Rhine on October 1, and on the 6th, entered Bavaria. By a rapid succession of skilful marches, he drove the Austrian general, Mack, into Ulm, where he compelled him with his whole force to surrender. He then crossed the Inn, pushed the Russo-Austrian army back upon Vienna, reduced them to the stern necessity of abandoning it, and himself entered the capital of Austria in triumph. But it was on the plain of Austerlitz, where, disheartened, but not yet subdued,

they ventured to face him, that he put an end to the contest. On December 2, a battle was fought, which ended in the total rout of the allies, with a loss which amounted, in prisoners alone, to thirty thousand men.

The immediate consequences of this great victory were, the opening of a negotiation between the Emperors of France and Austria, and the retreat of the Russians, who had likewise suffered severely, towards their own frontier. The peace of Presburg followed, which completed the humiliation of Austria, and enabled Napoleon to extend his sway over many provinces which formerly belonged to his rival, besides establishing his influence as paramount in Bavaria, Wurtemburg, and Baden.

SECTION II.—A.D. 1805–1807.

The French victorious over almost all the Continent of Europe.

THE vigilance and skill of the commanders of the English fleets rendered innocuous all the naval preparations of France and Spain; but these brave men and their gallant comrades lamented that they could find no opportunity of measuring themselves with their enemies; and numerous and various were the schemes which they devised to draw them from their harbours. Among others, Nelson was unceasing in his endeavours to deceive the enemy into action; nor was he unsuccessful. Admiral Villeneuve, taking advantage of the momentary absence of the British fleet, quitted Toulon on March 15, 1805, with a squadron of eleven sail-of-the-line, and several frigates, on board of which ten thousand land forces were embarked. He was instantly followed by Nelson; and a chase began, which caused the British ships to sail to the Nile, from the Nile to the Mediterranean, then from the Mediterranean through the West India Islands, and so back to the coast of Spain. Not yet, however, was this indefatigable commander destined to consummate his own renown and the naval glory of his country. Villeneuve, after an indecisive skirmish with Sir Robert Calder, in which he lost two of his ships of war, escaped into Cadiz, and there joined himself to a Spanish squadron, which increased his already formidable force to thirty-two sail-of-the-line. Meanwhile Nelson had returned to England, where such a fleet was entrusted to him as would enable him

to meet the enemy on nearly equal terms in any part of the world. With this he steered for Cadiz; and after a brief space devoted to manœuvring, that memorable combat was fought, which left little for the British seamen to accomplish on their own element during the remainder of the war.

On the morning of October 21, Cape Trafalgar bearing east-by-south, the land being distant about seven leagues, and the wind nearly due west, the combined fleets were observed about six or seven miles to the eastward, advancing under easy sail. Nelson's force was inferior to that of the enemy, both as to the number of ships and the weight of metal, yet both he and those under him thanked Providence that at length the opportunity so long sought had been afforded. Having issued his orders, therefore, the admiral bore down in two columns, himself leading one, Admiral Collingwood the other, while the telegraphic signal floated from his mast-head, 'England expects every man to do his duty.' It was his intention to pierce at two points the enemy's line, which Villeneuve had formed with great skill in a crescent; and well and ably was the plan executed; for Collingwood bore sheer through, about the twelfth ship from the rear, while Nelson himself attacked between the tenth and eleventh ships in the van. For some hours a cannonade was kept up on both sides, so close and so warm that the ships engaged repeatedly took fire from the flashes of the hostile guns. But victory declared in the end for the English. Yet it was a triumph, which, in the estimation not of the seamen alone, but of the whole country, had been too dearly purchased by the life of their beloved chief. While walking the quarter-deck, and eagerly observing the course of the battle, Nelson received a mortal wound in the left breast; he was immediately conveyed to the cockpit, and in about an hour and a half breathed his last, thanking God with his dying breath that He had blessed the arms of England with victory.

The victory of Trafalgar, which cost the enemy nineteen sail-of-the-line, put an end to all apprehensions of invasion; yet was it mourned in England as a great national calamity, for he who had so often led her fleets to conquest was no more; and the honours and pensions heaped upon his brother served only to evince how deeply the public mind was affected. Nor had men well recovered from this blow when another fell upon them.

William Pitt, the greatest statesman and orator of his age, the minister who had saved his country in its hour of deepest danger, who wielded the energies of Great Britain, and controlled her finances, during more than twenty years, died on January 23, 1806, in poverty. As he had never lived for himself, so were his last thoughts given to his country. A grateful nation paid his debts, and buried him in Westminster Abbey. His name will go down to future ages with those of the noblest and best of mankind.

The death of Pitt caused an immediate dissolution of the Cabinet, and Lord Grenville became in consequence First Lord of the Treasury. It was Mr. Fox, however, the rival of Pitt through life, who gave a tone to the new Administration. Soon after their accession to office they brought in, and carried through both Houses, an Act for the abolition of the slave-trade, a humane provision which Mr. Pitt had repeatedly advocated, but for which till now the minds of the commercial classes were not ripe. They appeared also willing to enlarge the privileges of Dissenters, and affected to advocate liberal principles in the abstract; but of a reform in the representative system, of which they had so often proclaimed the need, no more was heard. In their foreign policy, on the other hand, a marked character was shown. They made no secret of their desire for peace; and if, for a time, they acted with a good deal both of dignity and caution, the enemy was not for a moment left in doubt as to their intentions.

Hitherto the military operations of England had been limited to attacks upon remote colonies. Almost all the enemies' settlements in the East and West Indies were wrested from them, the Cape of Good Hope was reduced; and General Beresford had, in a most gallant manner, made himself master of Buenos Ayres, where, however, he was soon afterwards compelled to capitulate. It remained for Sir John Stewart, the commandant of the British army in Sicily, first to satisfy the world that in Europe, as well as in other quarters of the globe, British soldiers could fight and conquer.

Repeated intelligence having reached him that Calabria was ripe for revolt, Stewart yielded to the entreaties of the royal family of Naples; and on July 1, 1806, landed with five thousand men on the shores of the Gulf of St. Euphemia. General

Regnier, the French officer who commanded in the province, lay encamped at Maida; and, as his force was represented as inferior to that of the invaders, Stewart determined to attack him. He marched, with this view, on the 4th, and about noon came in sight of the enemy, who stretched across an open plain, to the number, not of three, but of seven thousand men. A sharp action followed, which did not last half-an-hour; for so completely were the French troops staggered by the well-directed fire of the English, that they fled as soon as the latter cheered and brought their bayonets to the charge. Yet was this brilliant victory of use only so far as its moral influence extended. Calabria could not be maintained; and Joseph Buonaparte, now crowned King, caused his authority to be as completely recognised there as in Naples.

By this time all the principles, to establish which revolutionary France had taken up arms, were abandoned. Napoleon himself was King of Rome, Joseph of Naples, Louis of Holland, when Mr. Fox availed himself of what he conceived to be a favourable opportunity of opening a negotiation for peace. An emigrant having offered to assassinate Buonaparte, Fox, as in duty bound, communicated the proposition to M. Talleyrand. Talleyrand's reply contained an extract from a speech recently delivered by the Emperor to the Senate, in which he expressed himself willing to put an end to the war, provided England would take the Treaty of Amiens as a basis of negotiation. There was no delay in acting on this hint. The Earl of Yarmouth, one of those unfortunate individuals whom the French Government had detained on the breaking out of hostilities, was commissioned to treat, and for a while the communications were forwarded in a spirit which seemed to promise the happiest results.

About this time, however, Mr. Fox's health gave way; the pen which he had been accustomed to wield passed into other hands, and these flattering anticipations ceased. France increased her demands, England wavered, and there arose between them a feeling of mutual distrust, which nothing could overcome. The points in dispute concerned the occupation of Sicily, and the retention or restoration of Hanover, and the result was, that an end was put to the discussions, and that each party accused the other of sacrificing the tranquillity of Europe to its own unjust and ambitious pretensions.

On September 13, 1806, died Charles James Fox, a scholar and a man of unquestioned talents, an eloquent debater, and an agreeable companion; but of whom, considered as a statesman, it is not an easy matter to speak, seeing that almost all his political life was spent in opposition. He transmitted the power, which for a few short months he possessed, to hands quite incapable of wielding it, for though not the ostensible head of the Whig Government, he had been the soul of all its movements. His immediate successor as Foreign Secretary was Lord Howick, who afterwards, as Earl Grey, became famous as the proposer of the Reform Bill of 1832.

Notice was taken some time ago of the disinclination of Prussia to arm. She had, indeed, maintained a stubborn neutrality ever since the campaign of the Duke of Brunswick, and more than once evinced a disposition to seize Hanover, and declare against England. The occupation of this electorate by French troops had given her great umbrage; yet she abstained from drawing the sword, till after the rout of Austerlitz had laid Germany at the feet of Napoleon. Then, indeed, when prudence would have dictated a widely different course, she broke with France; but Napoleon, prepared for this result, lost not a moment in attacking her, and, in the fatal battle of Jena, fought on October 14, 1806, her fine army was annihilated. Gathering the lesser States around him, by erecting Saxony into a kingdom, and taking forcible possession of Hamburg, the conqueror issued what have ever since been denominated 'the Berlin decrees,' by which the Continental nations were arbitrarily prohibited from holding any commercial intercourse with Great Britain.

Meanwhile, the British Government, unaware of the capture by the Spaniards of Buenos Ayres, sent out various detached corps to South America, one of which, under Sir Samuel Auchmuty, took possession of Monte Video; while others, under Craufurd and Whitelock, arrived in the course of the summer following. The orders given to the last-named officer required that he should recover Buenos Ayres at all risks; and he obeyed them by attacking the place with unloaded muskets. The consequence was the surrender of three thousand brave men, who forced their way, under a murderous fire, to the market-place; and a subsequent capitulation, by which Whitelock undertook to withdraw the British forces from the country, after having

received back both these and the prisoners lost under Beresford.

Nor were the efforts of the English against the Turks, with whom they became about this time involved in hostilities, more prosperous. A fleet entered the Dardanelles; sustained a terrible cannonade, but effected nothing; while an army which General Frazer led against Alexandria in Egypt, was glad to escape on terms of a convention, after losing upwards of a thousand men. But, mortifying as these reverses were, they did not affect the people of England so much as the defeat of the allies. Napoleon still carried all before him. The Russians fought desperately, it is true; first at Eylau, on February 7, 1807, where neither side could boast of any decided advantage; and last at Friedland, on June 14, where they were totally routed. Then followed an interview between the Emperors of Russia and France and the King of Prussia, which paved the way to the peace of Tilsit; a treaty which stripped Prussia of half her territories, and left Russia without any effectual barrier against a fresh invasion, whenever such a movement should suit the views of the conqueror. But before that pacification was effected, there had occurred changes in the British government, of which the effects soon began to appear both at home and abroad.

On December 19, 1806, the new Parliament met; and, for a while, the opposition to the ministerial plans was neither frequent nor acrimonious. As the session advanced, however, Lord Howick moved for leave to bring in a bill 'which should enable his Majesty to avail himself of the services of all his subjects, in his naval and military forces, on their taking the prescribed oath of allegiance.'

By the law as it then existed, Roman Catholics were allowed to hold any rank in the army under that of general, yet were disqualified from serving at all, under severe penalties, in Great Britain; a most ridiculous as well as unjust restriction, which it was the avowed object of Lord Howick's bill to remove. But in conducting this matter to an issue, the Cabinet so completely shifted its ground, committing itself at the same time by rash communications with the Irish papists, that the King, who entertained strong conscientious scruples as to the meaning of his coronation oath, felt himself called upon to interfere. A correspondence ensued, in which the ministers, after agreeing to modify their bill, abruptly informed the sovereign that they had

determined to abandon it, and at the same time asserted 'their right and intention to avow their opinions in parliament respecting the withdrawment of the bill; and in all future discussions relating to the Catholic question, also to submit for his Majesty's decision from time to time, such advice respecting Ireland as the course of circumstances and the interests of the empire should require.' This declaration was wholly uncalled for; the King had never questioned their rights; but he also knew his own, and on March 25, just ten days after the date of the minute in question, he informed them that he had no further occasion for their services.

A new Cabinet, of which the Duke of Portland was at the head, and which comprised the Earl of Eldon as chancellor; Lord Hawkesbury (afterwards Earl of Liverpool), as home secretary; Mr. Canning, as secretary for foreign affairs; Lord Castlereagh, as secretary for war and the colonies; and Mr. Spencer Perceval, as chancellor of the exchequer; entered upon the duties of their office at one of the darkest periods in English history.

At this period, not a single ally remained to Great Britain throughout the world; while the influence of France, now paramount in the south and west, was extended even into the extreme north, where formerly, if she was without friends, she seldom found enemies. But the ministers never for a moment ceased to have confidence in themselves: they determined to defeat the intrigues of Napoleon; and, by securing the Danish fleet, to hinder him from turning it, as he was prepared to do, against themselves. With this view, a powerful armament, both naval and military, proceeded to Copenhagen. The leaders had it in charge to negotiate in the first instance for the surrender of the shipping; and to pledge the honour of the country for its restoration as soon as peace should be restored. But the Crown Prince of Denmark would listen to no such proposal. The troops were accordingly landed; Copenhagen was invested, and after a short resistance, the fleet fell into the hands of the invaders. Nevertheless, this conquest, however necessary at the time, told somewhat against the moral character of England in the eyes of other nations. Russia accordingly joined the league against her; and while she replied to the Berlin decrees, which had been repeated from Milan, by declaring all neutrals bound to hostile ports liable to seizure, a total stop was put to every species of commerce, except that which was carried on by smugglers. Thus, even

towards the United States of America, she was forced to assume an unfriendly attitude; for to them the carrying trade of Europe had devolved, and they resented the loss of it by laying an embargo on their own harbours, and ceasing to hold intercourse even with the West India Islands.

SECTION III.—A.D. 1807–1809.

Napoleon and Spain: the Campaign that led to the Peninsular War.

GLOOMY indeed was the condition of England, beset on all hands by enemies, and cut off from friendly intercourse even with neutral Powers, when a light suddenly broke in upon her darkness, from a quarter where least of all such an occurrence could have been reasonably expected.

The Treaty of Tilsit, by which Russia and Prussia accepted peace on such terms as their conqueror chose to dictate, rendered Napoleon Buonaparte complete master of the continent of Europe. The minor German States were formed into a league called the Confederation of the Rhine, at the head of which he placed himself. This gave him over the whole of Germany an authority more despotic than had ever been claimed by the most absolute of the emperors; Switzerland submitted to call him her Protector, obeyed his edicts, and filled up his ranks with men. Holding France, Flanders, and Italy for himself, he had placed one brother on the throne of Naples, another on that of Holland; while for a third a kingdom was created in the heart of Germany, out of territories wrested indiscriminately from friend and foe. For others of his family similar positions were found, while he proposed to place his uncle, who was a cardinal, on the next vacancy upon the papal throne.

Spain and Portugal were both fallen to the lowest pitch of degradation; for the one lay prostrate at his feet, while the other maintained with Great Britain a friendly intercourse only by his connivance. Still, gigantic as this fabric was, it contained within itself the germ of a rapid dissolution; nor can it be said that the extraordinary man who reared it ever learned to regard his own greatness as secure. He determined, therefore, to strengthen himself more and more, by effecting other changes in the political arrangements of the South; for which he either discovered, or

pretended to have discovered, a plausible excuse during his northern expedition.

The overthrow of the Bourbon dynasty in Naples had seriously alarmed the court of Madrid. It was regarded as a first step in the total extirpation of the family; and schemes for resisting so foul an aggression began to be considered. It was at this critical juncture that Prussia took up arms, and a negotiation was immediately opened between the cabinets of Madrid and Berlin; but Prussia, as rash in the field as she had been unwisely cautious in council, had already succumbed in the one campaign of Jena; and her capital, with all that it contained, including copies of the correspondence with the Spanish minister, fell into Napoleon's hands. In that hour his plan was formed. He determined to displace the King of Spain, and, removing his brother Joseph from Naples to Madrid, to renew that family-compact which had during so many years held the two kingdoms in alliance.

There were two modes of acting, in order to secure this end: one by guile, the other by open force; and Napoleon resolved to pursue the former. With this view he began by engaging Charles in a pretended league against the independence of Portugal; and, under the pretext of requiring their services elsewhere, by draining the best portion of the Spanish army out of their country. This done, he had no difficulty in obtaining a safe passage through Spain for a corps under General Junot, which, indeed, was to be supported by such Spanish forces as remained, in a projected invasion of Portugal. The King of Portugal in vain protested against the intended wrong, and declared his willingness to conform, in every respect, to the spirit of the Berlin and Milan decrees. Buonaparte had announced, with his accustomed oracular brevity, the downfall of the house of Braganza, the reigning family of Portugal; and the army under Junot pushed on to fulfil the prophecy. There was no force in Portugal which could be opposed, with any hope of success, to this formidable invasion; so the royal party consented to depart, in British ships of war, for their American provinces; and Lisbon beheld with indignation the eagles of France floating from her towers.

Having thus accomplished one portion of his scheme, Napoleon made haste to mature the other, by drawing towards the Pyrenees an enormous army, for the purpose, as was given out, of

supporting that of which Junot was at the head. To push these forces onwards, causing them to take possession of all the frontier fortresses, and to penetrate, as if at the express invitation of Charles, as far as the capital itself, was the business of the winter of 1807. The spring of 1808 saw this web of chicanery and deceit woven out. Drawn to Bayonne under the most deceitful promises, Charles himself, his sons, and the chief of his nobles, became prisoners in the power of Buonaparte. Immediately a document appeared, to which the signatures of the King and princes of Spain were appended, containing a formal abdication of the throne of their ancestors, and an earnest recommendation to the Spanish people that they would transfer their allegiance to the new sovereign which the Emperor of the French meant to bestow upon them. That sovereign was his brother Joseph; who hurried to Madrid, under an escort of more French troops; and the Spaniards learned soon afterwards, with indignation rather than dismay, that the throne which had been vacant for a moment was re-occupied.

It soon appeared that Napoleon, if he ever calculated on the ready submission of the Spaniards to his will, had entirely mistaken the character of that people. There were riots and tumults in all quarters; the streets of the capital ran with blood; and far and near the cry was raised, 'Death to the French; down with the usurper!' Portugal, likewise, animated by the example which the sister-country set, called to mind her ancient glory; and the French were harassed by attacks from bands of brave but undisciplined men, led on by priests, peasants, and the chiefs of banditti. Nor were the peninsular nations forgetful that there was one free people left to whom they might apply for aid in the struggle which they had begun. Their emissaries hastened to England, where their arrival was hailed with an enthusiasm worthy of those among whom it prevailed, as well as of the holy cause which every Englishman felt to be his own.

It chanced that there was assembled at this time, in Cork harbour, a considerable army, which it had been intended to employ, under Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Wellesley, in repairing the mischief which General Whitelock's imbecility had occasioned in South America. The Government determined instantly to change the destination of that force, and to send it, with its young, but already distinguished, leader, to the new

field which Providence had opened out for exertion. But before proceeding to describe how they were obeyed, and what consequences followed, it is necessary to say something relative to the earlier career of the great man who was destined to restore peace to Europe.

Arthur Wellesley, the third son of the Earl of Mornington, was born May 1, 1769, and received his education partly at Eton, partly at the military school of Angers in France. He entered the army as an ensign, in 1787; and rose, by purchase, to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, in which capacity he served with credit in the Duke of York's army in Flanders. It was in India, however, of which his brother, Lord Mornington, became, in 1798, Governor-General, that Colonel Wellesley drew himself conspicuously into notice; first, when in command of a subsidiary force, during the campaign against Seringapatam; and afterwards in the defeat of a robber-chief, named Dhoondiah Waugh, who took advantage of the confusion incident on the fall of Tippoo to set up as an independent sovereign. Again, when the progress of events brought on in 1803 a war with the Mahrattas, Wellesley, now advanced to the rank of major-general, took the field. With the forces under his command, he performed many brilliant services; evincing, both in his plans and modes of prosecuting them, genius of the highest order; till, on the field of Assaye, he fought and won a battle, than which the annals of British glory in the East record none more memorable. By that great victory, the power of the Mahrattas was broken; and peace, on terms highly advantageous to England, ensued.

In 1805, General Wellesley, on whom the dignity of the Bath had been bestowed, returned to Europe. He then served, in 1806, under Lord Cathcart, in Hanover, and the year following became the Chief Secretary in Ireland, in which capacity, and as a member of the House of Commons, he continued, till the Copenhagen expedition drew him again into the line of his profession, and enabled him to achieve the only gallant action in which any portion of the army found an opportunity to engage. At Kioge, near Copenhagen, he defeated, with his division, a superior force of Danes, and was afterwards employed as chief commissioner to treat for the surrender of the fleet. But the purposes of the armament having been accomplished, he

resumed his civil employments, which he pursued for some months, with great advantage to the public. Nevertheless, his wishes leaned constantly to that course of life in which he was destined to attain to the highest eminence; and he accordingly solicited and obtained the guidance of the force, about nine thousand men, the assembling and purposes of which have just been noticed. How he wielded it, after its destination was changed, neither England nor France will ever forget.

The first point towards which Sir Arthur Wellesley steered his course was Corunna. He found the Spaniards not only confident in themselves, but sensitively jealous of foreign interference; so he obeyed the spirit of the instructions which he had received at home, and proceeded to Portugal. On August 8, 1808, his army, reinforced by a division from Gibraltar, bivouacked on the shores of Mondego Bay, and on the 10th the whole had advanced on the road to Lisbon. A trifling skirmish on the 15th, at a place called Obidos, warned both men and officers that they were in the vicinity of danger; and on the 17th they were warmly engaged with a French corps at Roriça. This they dislodged, after some hard fighting, and then marched to Vimiera, a strong position, of which Sir Arthur made choice, in order to cover the landing of reinforcements which had arrived on the coast. But he had not long taken his ground, when he was attacked with incredible fury by the whole of the French army, led on by Junot in person, which he repulsed with great slaughter, and was hindered from totally destroying only by the inopportune appearance of a new commander. The consequence was that delays occurred, which rendered it difficult, if not impossible, to turn the victory to a good account, and negotiations were opened, which ended in the evacuation of Portugal by the French troops, and the surrender of all the fortresses of which they had taken possession.

The Convention of Cintra—for so this treaty was called—gave great umbrage at home, and Sir Hew Dalrymple and Sir Harry Burrard, the officers who had superseded Wellesley, were recalled. Sir Arthur Wellesley also returned to England, and the command devolved upon Sir John Moore, an officer of tried courage and established character. On November 3, 1808, he began his march into Spain; and advancing on two lines, arrived with his infantry at Salamanca, while his cavalry and guns were at the Escurial, on the other side of Madrid. Some

delay necessarily arose out of this, which the contradictory intelligence received respecting the state of the Spanish armies greatly augmented; and at last it was found necessary to retreat through Gallicia, in order to gain the coast; for one after another the Spanish armies had suffered defeat; and except the twenty-six thousand British troops, under Moore, there was not an organised corps in the Peninsula. Moore conducted his retreat with somewhat too much of precipitation, yet without any display of fear, for his rear-guard always presented a bold front to the pursuers, and his cavalry frequently engaged that of the enemy to advantage; but he never halted till he reached Corunna, where the battle he had long shunned was forced upon him. It ended in favour of the English, who repulsed the assailants with great gallantry; but who scarcely rejoiced in a victory which cost the life of their chivalrous and beloved leader. Sir John Moore was buried, at dead of night, in one of the bastions of the town; while his troops were hastily embarked on board the fleet which lay in the bay to receive them.

Napoleon himself was leading the French army in pursuit of the English, when he was suddenly recalled by intelligence that Austria was again in arms. He flew, with his accustomed velocity, to the north, and early in the spring of 1809 he was across the Rhine at the head of a large army. The causes of this renewed hostility on the part of Austria were manifold. In the first place, Buonaparte had annexed to the French Empire many places on the right bank of the Rhine which had previously thrown their weight into the Germanic scale. In the next place, he had plundered the Pope of several of his richest provinces; and when his Holiness presumed to remonstrate, caused him to be seized, in defiance of a bull of excommunication, and carried a prisoner to Avignon. And lastly, though not with the least effect, the memory of former wrongs harassed the lofty spirit of Francis, and induced him to take advantage of the difficulties in which Napoleon appeared to be involved, to seek their redress. But Fortune had not yet deserted her favourite; or, to speak more correctly, Providence had not yet made its full use of its own instrument, and was not prepared to cast it aside. In spite of some successes in Italy, the Austrians were unable to resist the torrent, which bore onwards till it once more swept over Vienna itself, and the fatal battle of Wagram again laid the

empire at the feet of its now irritated conqueror. Austria was glad to purchase peace on any terms, and to become, like the pettiest principality included within the Confederation of the Rhine, a depôt for recruits for the French army.

SECTION IV.—A.D. 1809–1814.

The Turn of the Tide. The Peninsular War.

THE Government did not relax its exertions to fight the battles of England at a distance from her own shores. On April 22, 1809, Sir Arthur Wellesley again arrived in the Tagus, to assume the command of a new army, with which another attempt was about to be made in defence of the Peninsula; for the Portuguese were still in arms, and the Spaniards, in the face of constant defeats, seemed resolute to perish rather than yield. Nor was Sir Arthur slow in satisfying both his own countrymen and the rest of Europe, that he was well qualified to accomplish the task committed to him. On May 5 he reviewed his troops at Coimbra; on the 7th he began his march towards the frontier, and on the 12th he forced the passage of the Douro, defeating and driving before him a French army under Soult, which had occupied the town. After pursuing the fugitives some time, he suddenly doubled back, passed the Tagus, and hurried towards the south; and on July 28 fought the battle of Talavera, in which there fell ten thousand French, and about five thousand of the English. In that brilliant action the British were ostensibly supported by a Spanish army, of which the condition was so miserable that, the men being once arranged behind ditches and along hollow ways, Wellesley could not venture, even in the moment of victory, to move them onwards.

So far the military exertions of England during this season were glorious; it would have been well had the Government entrusted another expedition, which they were about, perhaps unwisely indeed, to undertake, to the guidance of leaders as able as those which directed the course of events in Portugal. In the month of July, forty thousand admirable soldiers, under the command of the Earl of Chatham, escorted by a fleet of thirty-five sail-of-the-line, under Sir Richard Strachan, proceeded against

Antwerp, under the idea of finding the Low Countries ripe for revolt; and at all events of destroying the ships and naval stores which Buonaparte had there collected. But Antwerp sustained no injury, for the army never got beyond the island of Walcheren, where the marsh ague soon began to do its work, and the soldiers died by hundreds every day. The capture of Flushing, after a sharp bombardment, was all, therefore, of which that brilliant expedition could boast; while the indignant wreck returned home, in the depth of winter, covered with disgrace.

The abortive issue of this enterprise led to partial changes in the Administration, of which a duel between Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning was the prelude. There were some popular movements likewise, arising out of a libellous publication, by one John Gale Jones, and an injudicious attempt, on the part of Sir Francis Burdett, to shield him from the consequences; but no alteration of system followed; for Lords Grey and Grenville rejected the overtures of Mr. Perceval; and Mr. Perceval himself became Prime Minister. Sir Arthur Wellesley, now Lord Wellington, was accordingly well supported; and the victories which he achieved were at once numerous, and of rapid succession. In 1810 he fought for Portugal; and though compelled to abandon the border towns, maintained himself in front of Lisbon, in a position which he had fortified with great care, and which has since been celebrated as the Lines of Torres Vedras. As soon as Massena, who had followed him, began to withdraw, Wellington removed from his lines; and in frequent skirmishes, the British troops, now the pursuers, evinced their superiority over the enemy. The French were driven across the Agueda, and the blockade of Almeida was established. Nor were the operations of 1811 less glorious. On July 5, Lord Wellington fought and won the battle of Fuentes D'Onor, within a few days from the occurrence of which Almeida was evacuated; while, in the south, Marshal Beresford overthrew, at Albuera, a strong army under Marshal Soult. Then followed a series of marches, and countermarches, in which Wellington proved himself as complete a master of tactics, as, in the day of action, he showed his skill in the handling of troops; and the campaign was wound up by the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo, after a siege of ten days, during the very depth of winter.

While these things were going on in the Peninsula, George III.

after completing the fiftieth year of his reign, and witnessing the sincere and ardent joy with which his people kept the jubilee, was again smitten with insanity, as at an earlier period. The Prince of Wales was, in consequence, nominated regent, under restrictions, which were meant to continue only till 1812; while the care of the King's person was intrusted to a council, of which the Queen was, of course, a principal member. In Paris, also, an important change had been effected. Napoleon, anxious to ensure a successor of his own race, and despairing of a family by the Empress Josephine, resolved, in defiance of the dictates of honour and moral probity, to put her away; a cruel recompense for all the devotion which she had displayed towards him in every change of his fortune, both to good and evil. Poor Josephine, after the first burst of grief had exhausted itself, submitted; and by a decree of the senate a divorce was pronounced. But though he received the immediate reward of this bitter laceration of feeling—the hand of Maria Louisa, one of the daughters of the Emperor of Austria—it may admit of a question, whether, in another point of view, the whole transaction was not productive of as much evil to himself, as of benefit to the rest of Europe. The moral sense of some of his own subjects, the political prejudices of others, were grievously wounded; and he who had hitherto been esteemed, however absurdly, the personification of the Revolution, came to be regarded as one who wished to enrol himself in the family of legitimate sovereigns.

While the achievements of Lord Wellington's army in the Peninsula, the capture of Java, and other important settlements in the East, the reduction of Guadaloupe in the West, and innumerable triumphs by sea, threw a dazzling lustre over the foreign transactions of Great Britain, the situation of affairs at home was such as to require, in those intrusted with their administration, an almost equal share of firmness and address. The Regent, mindful of early associations, would have gladly received into his councils his old friends Lords Grey and Grenville, with the other leaders of the Whig party; and he commanded Mr. Perceval to announce to them his wish that they would join his Administration. But they refused to entertain the proposition. There were, moreover, at this time threatenings of serious disturbances, as well among the Roman Catholics of Ireland as in the manufacturing districts of Great Britain. Nevertheless, the manly character of

Perceval enabled him to triumph over all obstacles, and matters appeared to be in the most prosperous train, when a man, named John Bellingham, half ruffian, half madman, shot him dead with a pistol, as he was about to enter the House of Commons, on May 11. As there was no political motive for this crime, the alarm which at first was excited soon began to abate; but the evils occasioned by it, both to the Regent and the nation, were, for a while, very great. At last, however, arrangements were made which placed the Earl of Liverpool at the head of an Administration.

In the meantime, Lord Wellington, who had received considerable reinforcements during the winter, opened the campaign of 1812 with great effect. Badajoz was taken by assault, and Salamanca entered, after the colleges and monasteries which the enemy had fortified were reduced. The army then moved towards Madrid, which Marshal Marmont hastened to cover. A series of brilliant manœuvres followed, which brought back both armies to a plateau not far from Salamanca, where a battle was fought not less memorable than any in which the British troops had been engaged since the commencement of the war. It ended in the total rout of the enemy, whose commander was carried from the field with an arm so shattered that amputation was necessary, while Lord Wellington, assuming the offensive, pushed forward, and on August 12 entered the capital. But it soon appeared that in thus throwing himself into the heart of Spain, he had attached more value to native co-operation than it was worth. While he occupied himself in an attempt to reduce Burgos, for which means both cannon and entrenching tools were wanting, the enemy gathered round him, and he was compelled to raise the siege, and to retreat beyond the Tormes, along a line of which he disposed his troops into winter-quarters.

But the time was now come when England, which had so long and so gallantly maintained the struggle, was destined to find the most effectual allies where of late she beheld only enemies. Russia, startled by the effects of a revolution in Sweden, which deposed the King, Gustavus, and advanced a Frenchman, one of Napoleon's generals, Bernadotte, to the line of succession, and smarting under the operations of the Continental system, which required that her ports should be closed against British produce, had begun to assume an attitude which, while it awakened the

jealousy of Napoleon, induced the British Government to address certain friendly notes to the cabinet of St. Petersburg. Immediately Napoleon set out for Dresden, where he vainly endeavoured by negotiation to bring back the Czar, Alexander, to his views. But his efforts failed, and he appealed at once to the sword. Four hundred thousand warriors followed his standard to Wilna, the capital of Russian Poland, which he entered on June 28, 1812, without opposition. But every march beyond that point was performed in the face of difficulties, such as no invader ever encountered before, far less overcame. Not only was he compelled to fight battle after battle, but wherever he came he found the country a desert. And thus it was till he reached Borodino, a position which the Russians had strongly fortified, and on which, with the hope of arresting him ere he should penetrate to Moscow, they had resolved to give battle. Never was contest more fierce than that which ensued, never was victor less rewarded for his achievements. The French remained masters of the field; they entered Moscow in triumph, and finding it well supplied with all things necessary for the maintenance of life, they hoped to spend the winter there in tranquillity, but they were mistaken. That very night fires broke out in a thousand different quarters at the same instant, and long before dawn the whole city was in a blaze.

Deprived by such means of shelter for his troops, and cut off from communication with his rear, Buonaparte endeavoured to open a negotiation with Alexander. His overtures were totally disregarded, while clouds of enemies showing themselves on every hand, taught him to feel that his last hope of safety lay in retreat. On October 21 he commenced that movement, which, in point of suffering to those engaged, is without a parallel in history. Men and horses perished of cold and hunger by thousands. Such as survived became so demoralised and intimidated that whole battalions would flee from the war-whoop of a band of Cossacks, while the whole line of their route was marked by white mounds, the graves of those who had sunk down and died under the snow. Buonaparte, seeing that the army was totally ruined, suddenly quitted it, and hurried back to Paris, that he might enrol and organise fresh levies wherewith to meet the storm, of the approach of which he could not entertain a doubt; and gigantic were his efforts both in the council and in the field. The spring of 1813

saw him again leading hundreds of thousands of the youth of France through Germany, and the summer brought them into fierce and doubtful collision with their enemies on the fields of Lutzen and Bautzen.

The summer of 1813 was somewhat advanced ere the Earl of Wellington (for to that rank in the peerage he was now advanced) opened the next campaign; but when military operations did begin, they were of the most extraordinary nature. Without a halt, the British army marched from the borders of Portugal to the Ebro, and from the Ebro to the field of Vittoria. There Marshal Jourdan, who now commanded under Joseph, received battle. His defeat was total, and the wreck of his forces, destitute of artillery, stores, and organisation, fled, without once attempting to rally, beyond the Bidassoa. Soult, one of the ablest marshals of France, placed himself at their head, and they followed him into the valleys of the Pyrenees, and made some desperate efforts to roll back the tide of war, but entirely failed. St. Sebastian was carried by assault; Pampeluna submitted; and Wellington carried his veterans across the Bidassoa, and entered the south of France. In the following spring Bayonne was invested, after a fierce battle of four days' continuance. At Orthes, Soult was worsted; Bourdeaux opened its gates, and Toulouse witnessed as gallant a conflict as had occurred throughout the war. But scarcely was that dear-bought victory won, when intelligence reached both armies, which caused an immediate suspension of arms.

Buonaparte, after the most gigantic efforts, had been defeated at the great battle of Leipzig, the greatest and most important in modern times, and driven back, disputing every inch of ground, upon France. Up to the very gates of Paris, and even beyond them, he maintained the same daring attitude, now striving to negotiate, now appealing to the sword, and never without effect. Nevertheless, that Providence whose mercies he had so often abused, and in whose hands he was but an instrument, had forsaken him, and before nations of late his slaves, but now banded against him, he fell. For as Russia moved on, Prussia, Austria, Sweden, Saxony, all the states which had felt the weight of his iron heel, rose up against the tyrant; and, the people of France falling off from him, he stood at last, as it were,

alone, like some huge lion run to bay by a pack of ordinary fox-hounds.

Such was the state of his affairs, a weakened and disheartened army alone remaining to him, when the senate met in Paris, now threatened with a bombardment, and declared that he had justly forfeited the throne. Some voices were raised in favour of his son, whom, in 1811, the young Empress had borne to him; and one or two there were, who even now spoke of a Republic. But the majority, either from a conviction of the truth, or from a desire to conciliate the conquerors, exclaimed, that France could never enjoy repose, except under the ancient family. When these things were told to Buonaparte, he fell into a paroxysm of rage, and talked of marching across the Loire, and there maintaining the war; but none of his generals would support him. He was compelled, therefore, to sign a deed of abdication; and set off, under an escort, to take possession of the island of Elba, which the allies, permitting him still to retain the title of emperor, assigned as his future place of residence.

CHAPTER VII.

A.D. 1814–1815.

THE HUNDRED DAYS.

GREAT were the rejoicings both at home and abroad, in consequence of the happy termination to a war, which for twenty years had devastated the Continent, and caused the best blood of Britain to be shed, both by sea and land. Not yet, however, could England congratulate herself with being at peace with all the world. The United States of America had unfortunately drawn the sword at a moment when there was every disposition in London to conciliate, and the hostilities begun at that unhappy moment, still continued. There had been some fighting on the frontiers of Canada, and one or two actions between single ships had ended unfortunately for the British flag; and the operations of the British fleets and armies, now that the state of Europe left them free to act more vigorously on the other side of the Atlantic, were not very memorable. In the north, the imbecility of Sir George Prevost brought something like a stain upon laurels which had been earned by his troops in the Peninsula, while in the extreme south, the failure of an expedition against New Orleans cost the lives of some excellent officers and many brave men. On the other hand, the occupation of Washington, after the defeat of the army which covered it, showed how much might be done, even in America, by British troops ably commanded. But to this teasing war a stop was at length put, by a treaty signed at Ghent, on December 24, 1814, which left the border-line between the two countries to be settled by commissioners, and permitted the right of search, concerning which the quarrel had arisen, to pass unnoticed.

While America suffered severely along her whole sea-coast

from the hostilities which she had wantonly provoked, England was the scene of festivity and rejoicings, such as had never before been witnessed. The allied sovereigns, the Emperors of Austria and Russia, and the King of Prussia, with the most distinguished of their nobles and officers, visited London, and the whole mass of its population appeared giddy with delight. In both Houses of Parliament, likewise, the Duke of Wellington (for he had been raised, by a grateful prince, to the highest dignity of the peerage) was hailed, both by the Lords and Commons, with enthusiasm; while the people out of doors appeared almost willing to cast themselves under his chariot-wheels.

In the midst of all this triumph, however, the allied sovereigns did not suffer themselves to remain unmindful of the state of Europe, which the conquests of the French Republic and Empire had utterly deranged. The Pope was restored to his temporal sovereignty; Italy and Germany were brought back, with a few trifling exceptions, to what they had been previous to the Revolution; Ferdinand, the son of Charles, resumed the throne of Spain; and Holland and Belgium, being united into one kingdom, were assigned to the house of Nassau, the head of which became, thenceforth, King of the Netherlands. Arrangements were likewise made for the promotion of a good understanding, and the encouragement of commerce and the arts of peace, in all lands. But of the effects of all this legislation no time was afforded to make trial, when an event befell, which, however it ought to have been foreseen and provided against, affected the whole civilised world with astonishment.

From his lonely habitation on the isle of Elba, Napoleon Buonaparte still kept up a communication with the world; and discovering, or being willing to believe, that the Bourbons were unpopular, he resolved to become again an actor on the stage of politics. He suddenly quitted his retreat; and throwing himself into the heart of France, was joined, wherever he appeared, by the troops, who carried him back in triumph to the capital. The colonel who commanded the 7th regiment of the line, and whom, his master especially trusted, was the first to assume the tricoloured cockade, and to distribute it to his followers. In like manner Marshal Ney, after pledging himself to bring back the invader in chains, not only joined his standard, but brought over his whole army. Thus was Louis deserted, one after another,

by all in whom he had reposed confidence, and driven once more to seek personal safety in flight from a kingdom which he had entered only a year ago amid the shouts and blessings of the populace.

When intelligence of Buonaparte's escape from Elba first reached Vienna, where the ministers of the allied sovereigns were met in congress to discuss the affairs of Europe, it excited shouts of laughter. In proportion as reports came in, however, descriptive of the absolute success of the enterprise, kings and ministers changed their tone. Europe again flew to arms; and a proclamation being published, in which Buonaparte was declared to have placed himself out of the protection of law, Russia, Austria, Prussia, and Great Britain hastened to bring their armies into the field. The Duke of Wellington assembled his force, which consisted of thirty thousand British, eight thousand of the German legion, and a large number of Hanoverians, Belgians, and others, on whom little reliance could be placed, so as to cover the great road that leads from Avesnes to Brussels. The Marshal Prince Blucher, who commanded the Prussians, established himself in front of Namur; and the communication was kept up between the left of the one and the right of the other, by patrols. Such was their condition in the end of May, 1815; while the troops of the Northern Powers were rapidly organising themselves, and threatening the other frontier of France, to the amount of nearly three hundred thousand men. But Napoleon, who soon discovered that his peaceful overtures were not likely to be attended to, resolved to strike at the corps which held the Netherlands ere the allies could come up. With this view, he put himself at the head of one of the finest armies that ever followed leader; and announcing, with his usual brevity, 'I go to measure myself with Wellington,' advanced by hasty strides upon Brussels.

The French army, though superior in point of numbers to either the Prussians or the English, taken separately, could not hope to act against them united, with success. Buonaparte, therefore, made his dispositions to overwhelm them in detail; and pouring his masses first upon Blucher, dislodged him on June 16, after a fierce encounter, from the position which he had taken up at Ligny. While that terrible struggle was going on, Ney, at the head of 45,000 men, engaged the advance of the British at

Quatre Bras, but could not, though far surpassing it in numbers, make any impression. On the following day, however, Wellington, made aware of the overthrow of Blucher, fell back to the position of Waterloo, the soldiers marching under a heavy rain, and continually exposed, in the rear, to attacks from the French cavalry. That night, officers and men bivouacked behind the ridge on which they were to contend for life or death on the morrow, while Napoleon, leaving General Grouchy with a corps of 30,000 men to watch the Prussians, hastened with the remainder of his force to occupy another ridge, about long cannon-shot distant. Both sides looked anxiously for the dawn, which came in, as the darkness had closed around them, with heavy showers and frequent gusts of wind. Still no movement was made by the enemy: indeed, it was eleven o'clock before their rear had well closed up, and the arrangements of their leader were complete. But, in about half an hour afterwards, just as the last of the storm wore itself out, a fierce cannonade opened from the French guns, and columns of horse and foot pressed gallantly up the slope.

A country house which stood on the right flank of the British line, and a farm house on the left centre, were repeatedly attacked, and the latter carried, after a murderous resistance. On swept the cuirassiers like an iron cataract, through the interval thus opened; and firm stood the squares of British infantry to receive them. Nor were the English cavalry, particularly the heavy brigade, idle. They charged the choicest of the French horse, overthrew them with great slaughter, drove their horses against the flanks of columns of infantry, and sabred large numbers, till the whole of the field was covered with the bodies of the dead and dying, whom in the confusion of the strife their very comrades trampled under foot.

In this manner the battle raged from noon till six o'clock in the evening, every attempt on the part of the French to penetrate the English line being defeated; while the English, gradually moving on as each successive wave was rolled back, found themselves thrown into a new order, with their flanks considerably advanced. It was then that Buonaparte, whom a few straggling shots on his flank warned of the approach through the wood of the indefatigable Blucher, resolved to make his last effort. All that could be collected, both of horse and foot, were formed into

one dense column, and launched, amid loud cries of 'Vive l'Empereur!' against the British centre. The head of that column crossed the ridge, but never came within push of bayonet with the English, who stood in ranks of four deep to receive them, for there fell such a storm of fire on its front, and both its flanks, and the heavy brigade charged so home upon the men as they staggered, that an attempt to deploy brought with it irretrievable confusion, and all order, all discipline, was lost. Then was there seen a spectacle such as a British army can alone display, when Wellington, waving his hat, gave the word for the line to advance. Down went man and horse on the side of the French, while a wild cry arising, 'Let those save themselves who can,' the rout became universal.

Wearied with their exertions throughout the day, the English left to the Prussians, who had now come up, the care of following the fugitives; and well and willingly was that duty discharged. Little quarter was given by men whose bosoms burned with the recollections of a thousand wrongs which those nearest and dearest to them had suffered; so that all the roads, for many miles beyond the field, were covered with slaughtered men. Meanwhile Buonaparte himself galloped back to Paris, where the utmost dismay prevailed. He spoke of raising fresh levies, but was answered with questions as to the state of the army which he had led to slaughter, till finding that his hour was come, he again abdicated, and thought only of providing for his own personal safety. He fled to the coast, and having there surrendered to Captain Maitland, who commanded the 'Bellerophon,' an English ship of war, he was by him conveyed, as a sort of state prisoner, to Plymouth. He was not permitted to plant a foot on the English shore; but being transported to St. Helena, a rocky island in the middle of the southern Atlantic, he there, though surrounded with all the comforts which were consistent with a due regard to his safe keeping, dragged out some years of misery. Disappointed ambition—it may be remorse for the crimes of other days—soured his temper, and preyed upon his vitals; and he died at last on May 5, 1821, of a disease to which his family was liable—a cancer in the stomach.

The battle of Waterloo put an end at once to the hostile disposition of the French people. From the scene of his glory up to the gates of Paris, the march of Wellington was a triumphal

procession, and he reached the devoted capital just in time to save it from the destruction with which, by Blucher and his indignant soldiers, it was threatened. Still, though Paris was spared, the allies justly determined that the French should at length be taught to feel that they were conquered. All the plunder which Buonaparte, as first consul, and other leaders of corps, had carried off from other lands was resumed, while France itself was held down during three years, under the military occupation of its principal cities and fortresses, by divisions from the allied army. Nor could Louis XVIII., however he might regret, object to these arrangements. He was brought back to the throne of his ancestors under shelter of foreign bayonets, nor would it have been wise to withdraw these till his own prudent and conciliatory behaviour had ensured, or seemed to ensure, to him and his family the willing allegiance of the French people.

CHAPTER VIII.

AFFAIRS OF INDIA.

SECTION I.

The rise of the English power in India. Robert Clive and Warren Hastings.

THERE is ample evidence to show that India, over which the sway of England now extends, is not only one of the earliest-peopled countries in the world, but that its civilisation was advanced in ages much removed from the present to a state far above that at which we now find it. Successive races of men, and forms of religion, have overrun and partially peopled it; Buddhists, subduing tribes, of which the rude remains still subsist in remote places; Hindoos, driving the Buddhists out of the continent, into Ceylon; Persians including it among the many satrapies or provinces that paid tribute to their sovereign, and Greeks breaking the power of Persia, up to the banks of the Sutlej and beyond it. By-and-by came a succession of conquering Mahommedan dynasties whose splendour attained its culminating point under Arungzebe, a stern but able monarch, who rebelled against his father, seized the throne of Delhi, and held it from 1666 to 1707.

James I., of England, was the first English monarch who entered into diplomatic relations with the Great Mogul. He dispatched an envoy—Sir Thomas Roe—to the court of one of Arungzebe's predecessors, and obtained his sanction to the setting up of establishments, at various points, by a company of merchants whom Queen Elizabeth had chartered to trade exclusively with the continent and islands of the East. Not then, however, nor for many a day afterwards, did either this company or another, to which William III. granted a charter, or the two fused into one under the name of the 'United Company of Mer-

chants of England, trading to the East Indies,' aim at territorial possessions. They were content that their agents should live under the protection of the native princes, to conciliate whom, and often to avert their capricious anger, no acts of deference were regarded as too humiliating.

The English were not, however, the only European people who recognised the value of the Indian trade, and strove to obtain a portion of it. From Portugal, from Holland, and from France adventurers went forth who, like the English, set up establishments of their own, and did their best to undermine their rivals.

When Arungzebe filled the throne, India, from Cape Comorin to the Indus, constituted one vast empire. The machinery, however, by which its affairs were regulated hung but loosely together. Many Hindoo Rajahs, asserted a virtual independence, paying tribute only, and administering their principalities as they thought fit. Soubahdars, as the Mussulman governors of huge provinces were called, exercised all but absolute power; and Nabobs or the rulers of lesser districts, though responsible to the Soubahdars, and through them to the Mogul, were to all intents and purposes supreme, each in his own dominions. The death of Arungzebe shook this ill-poised fabric to pieces. His successor never ventured to supersede a deputy, and Soubahdars, Nabobs, and Rajahs soon ceased to regard him as their liege lord, except in name.

It belongs to Indian history to tell how, among these lesser princes, jealousies and strifes arose. As often as a throne became vacant rival candidates aspired to fill it, in whose quarrels the European settlers were led to take part, at first reluctantly, but by-and-by for the attainment of purposes of their own. Of the Portuguese and the Dutch in these early Indian wars we hear but little. The former were soon extinguished, the latter received their death-blow on the continent at the hands of him to whom England owes the first beginnings of her Indian Empire. But France and England fought long and fiercely for the ascendant. They had each several factories, as their settlements were then called, on the Coromandel coast: the chief of which belonging to England was Madras; to the French, Pondicherry. Accordingly, when disputes arose, first, as to who should be Nabob of Arcot, and next, who should be Soubahdar of the Carnatic, they took,

as might have been expected, opposite sides and fought for dear life.

Between 1744 and 1750 the tide of success in these Eastern wars ran strong in favour of the French. It seemed, indeed, as if the English were about to be driven out of the Carnatic, when the task of retrieving their fortunes was committed to one who proved himself not unequal to the occasion. Robert Clive, the son of a gentleman of good family but limited fortune, in Shropshire, had gone to India at the age of eighteen, as a writer or clerk in the Company's service. Nature had given him a resolute spirit, an indifferent temper, and no great aptitude or love for sedentary occupations. When Madras fell into the hands of the enemy he escaped in disguise to Fort St. David, and served as a volunteer, both in the defence of that place and subsequently in an attack on Pondicherry. His bravery and readiness of resource drew upon him the notice of his superiors, and they willingly allowed him to exchange the pen for the sword. Wherever he went in the command of men, success followed him. He threw himself into Arcot, and held it against great superiority of numbers. He defeated the enemy in the open field, and finally, serving under another brave man, Major Laurence, he put an end to the war in the Carnatic by shutting up the French candidate in an island on the river Coloroon; where he fell a sacrifice to the treachery of his own people, and his army, including a formidable French contingent, laid down its arms.

The result of this war, which came to an end in 1755, was greatly to increase both the influence and the territory of the English company in the Carnatic. No great while elapsed, however, before far more brilliant and important successes attended them elsewhere. On the river Hoogly, a branch of the Ganges, the English had early established a factory, which they obtained leave, from the Nabob of Bengal, to surround with a shallow ditch and a narrow parapet. It happened in 1756, that a native merchant whose life was in danger, fled from the Nabob, and took refuge in the factory. The Nabob, Surajah-Dowlah, who hated all foreigners, and especially the English, demanded that the fugitive should be delivered up. The demand was refused; the Nabob marched upon Calcutta, for so the factory was called, overpowered its weak garrison, and finding 180 Europeans in the

place, who had failed to make their escape, shut them all up in one small room, and left them there the whole of the night. It was the common prison, into which air was admitted only through two narrow windows, both strongly barred. The sufferings of the captives were horrible, and on the morrow only twenty were found alive.

When tidings arrived of this catastrophe at Madras, the greatest indignation prevailed; and Clive, who had recently returned from England, put himself at the head of a small but well-disciplined army, and went forth to avenge the wrong. He arranged with a discontented chief, Meer Jaffier, to dethrone the Nabob. He fought and won the battle of Plassey, on June 22, 1757, and Surajah-Dowlah, being put to death by his own people, Meer Jaffier was proclaimed Nabob. But Clive did more; he attacked the only important settlement which the Dutch possessed in that part of India, defeated their army, and swept them away.

All these events, as well as a renewal of hostilities in the Carnatic, wherein success varied, though in the end the scale turned entirely in favour of England, occurred ere George III. ascended the throne. In 1760 the state of affairs was therefore this. The French were driven from all their possessions on the Coromandel coast, Pondicherry itself being taken by Colonel Coote. Bombay, on the opposite coast, which had come to Charles II. as the dower of his bride, the English held unmolested, and on the Bengal side they had considerably extended their territories and greatly abused their influence with the new Nabob. The consequence was, that individual Englishmen grew enormously rich, at the expense both of the native governments, and of the Company whose agents they were. But matters could not rest there.

Various revolutions occurred in Bengal, of which the English were the promoters. Meer Jaffier was set aside for Meer Cossim. Meer Cossim was in his turn expelled, and a creature of their own placed upon the throne, who surrendered all real power into their hands. Clive had gone home in ill health, and was absent from India when these revolutions took place. He was raised to the Irish peerage, and sent back in 1765 with full powers to redress all the grievances of which the Company complained. He found his countrymen at war with the Nabob of Oude and the Emperor, both of whom had taken part with Meer Cossim. He made peace with these princes, and consummated his work

by persuading the puppet who filled the throne to make a formal concession of his authority to the East India Company. This done, he applied for and obtained a firman or charter from the Emperor, which constituted the Company finance minister in the three provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. Thus the Company took its place among the recognised sovereigns of India, and the foundations were laid of that empire which extends now over the whole of the peninsula, and comprehends a population of 180,000,000 souls. A word or two respecting the constitution of the government under which this empire grew up.

While the Company yet owned no more than certain factories along the coast, it regulated its own affairs at home through a court of twenty-four directors, with its chairman and vice-chairman, and a court of proprietors, exercising just such powers as general meetings of shareholders exercise in any one of the 'companies limited' with which we of the present generation are familiar. Abroad, at the chief seats of the factories, mayor's courts were set up, which administered the law of England in a somewhat rough way. To guard these courts and protect their property, the directors enlisted European soldiers, and by-and-by natives were enrolled on the spot, and formed under European officers into Sepoy battalions. When the Company attained to regal power in the East, changes were introduced into these institutions. At first they affected only the local governments, all of which were placed under one head—who, fixing his residence in Calcutta, and assisted by a council of four, grew gradually into the Governor-General of India. Madras and Bombay became at the same time presidencies, each having its governor and council, alike supreme, except so far as the Governor-General might interfere to restrict their action.

The first who attained to this high station was Warren Hastings, a name renowned in Indian history, and scarcely less so on account of the persecution to which he who bore it was subjected. The last of a noble house, Hastings was born in the depths of poverty, from which a maternal uncle took him away, sent him to Westminster school, and ultimately in 1750 obtained for him a writership in the service of the East India Company. Hastings rose through all the gradations of clerk, resident at a native court, and member of council, and at last became, in 1769, governor of Bengal, and by-and-by Governor-General. He entered upon this

great charge under enormous difficulties, which never ceased to attend him to the last.

The general peace of 1763 had given back all their possessions in India to the French. No great while elapsed ere the evil consequences of this arrangement began to show themselves. There had arisen in Southern India a successful adventurer, the son of a second-rate Mohammedan chief, who, conspiring against his sovereign, the Rajah of Mysore, overthrew him and ascended the throne. Hyder Ali—such was his name—viewed with intense jealousy the growth of English power in India, and not uninspired by the French, soon began to aim at overthrowing it. A cause of quarrel was found, and in 1767 he descended into the plain, and ravaged it from end to end, with a numerous cavalry. The war lasted two years, and was most disastrous to the English, who were glad to make peace at the very gates of Madras, on terms dictated by the invader.

Meanwhile, on the Bengal side, endless troubles arose. A famine carried off many thousands of people. The Mahrattas, a predatory nation, inhabiting districts lying north and south from the Ghauts which overlook Bombay, began to make themselves disagreeable. They contracted an alliance hostile to the English, with the Rohillas, an Affghan tribe, which had made their way into the centre of Hindostan. Hastings, anticipating the danger, fell upon the Rohillas and expelled them. Upon this the Mahrattas took up arms, and the flame of war burnt well-nigh from the frontier of Bengal to Bombay. It was still in full force when Hyder Ali burst a second time into the Carnatic, and again carried his arms to St. Thomas' Mount. Hastings acted on this occasion with rare courage. He dispatched Coote—afterwards Sir Eyre Coote—to the assistance of the sister presidency, who, with 8,000 men, attacked Hyder on July 1, 1780, and defeated him, though at the head of 50,000 men. The resources of Hyder were, however, exhaustless, and he continued the war till his death, in 1783. Nor did Tippoo Sahib, his son and successor, sheathe the sword till May 1, 1784. On that day a treaty of peace was signed, and British India, exhausted, yet not subdued, began to disarm.

It was while fighting against these dangers from without, that the Home Government added to Mr. Hastings' difficulties, by sending out to be his councillors, three gentlemen, imbued with sentiments of strong personal and political enmity towards him-

self. They arrived at Calcutta in October 1774, and began their official career by complaining that the Governor had insulted them, because they were saluted on landing by only seventeen guns. From that hour they opposed their chief in everything, and as the constitution of the court was such that a majority of voices decided every question, they not unfrequently put him to the greatest straits.

One of these councillors was Sir Philip Francis, to whom the authorship of Junius' letters has been attributed. He carried his hostility so far as to provoke a duel, in which he was severely wounded. In consequence of that wound he returned home, and another of the hostile faction having died, Hastings was enabled again to carry on the government with vigour. But not all that he did for the Company and for England saved him from a cruel persecution. On his return home, which occurred in June 1785, all the vials of party and personal wrath were emptied upon his head. He was impeached before the House of Lords on charges of cruelty and oppression to the natives of India; and the most splendid eloquence of the orators Edmund Burke and Sheridan was turned against him. Nobody insinuated that he had robbed these people in order to enrich himself; indeed, he came back from India after a service of thirty-five years, during which he had held the highest offices, with a moderate competency. Yet the court before which he stood, while it allowed, that, but for his stern method of filling the treasury, India must have been lost to England, would not acquit, though it did not venture to condemn him. He stood before the world a criminal on his trial for nine years, and being pronounced not guilty, lived to old age, and died at last, neglected and in comparative poverty.

Section II.—A.D. 1784—1814.

Reference has been made elsewhere to the attempt of the Coalition Administration to confirm themselves in office, by passing an act for the better government of British India. Their measure was thrown out in the House of Lords, and Mr. Pitt, whom the King called to his counsels, brought in and carried another, of which the principal incidents are these:—

There was erected, apart from the courts of directors and pro-

prietors, a board of commissioners for the affairs of India. It consisted of a chief commissioner, appointed by the Crown; of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and of other persons, being privy councillors. It was charged with authority to check and control all that might be done at the India House. No despatches relating to matters of home or foreign politics could go from the directors to their servants in India till seen and approved by the Board, and the Board might alter or amend the matter of such despatches at its pleasure. This Board, called the Board of Control, had its offices in Cannon Street, Westminster; and as it regulated the proceedings, so it took its share of the appointments, which used previously to be vested in the Directors alone.

Meanwhile the constitution of the Court of Directors itself was changed. It worked henceforth in committees, on one of which, the Secret Committee,—the highest of all, of which the chairman was, *ex officio*, a member,—the great business of government devolved. To the proprietors little real power was thus left. But the Company being confirmed in its monopoly of trade, not only with India, but with China, and all the countries and islands of the two seas, the proprietors were satisfied that, from this, and from the revenues of their large territorial possessions, an excellent percentage would always come in. Their periodical assemblies, therefore, with the privilege of speaking and voting, which they still retained, stood to them in the place of the larger prerogatives which Mr. Pitt's bill took away from them.

The same act of parliament which set up this machinery at home, freed the Governor-General from the trammels to which Mr. Hastings had been subjected, by authorising him, in case of a difference of opinion with his council, to act in defiance of the majority. But as often as he availed himself of this right, he assumed a very grave responsibility. And all parties being alive to the peril thence arising, it does not appear that any Governor-General has often been driven to the necessity of incurring it.

The great cry of the home government was for peace; and after a brief interval Earl Cornwallis, afterwards Marquis Cornwallis, went out to fill what was now regarded as one of the most important offices under the crown. He arrived at Calcutta in 1786, convinced, not less than his employers, that any further

extension of territory would imperil the existence of the Indian empire. He had scarcely been a year in the country, ere Tippoo Sahib exhibited signs of restlessness. Lord Cornwallis himself assumed the command in the Carnatic, made himself master in the second campaign of Bangalore, and opened a third by marching upon Seringapatam. Tippoo then submitted; and ceding to the English some valuable provinces, was permitted to retain the sovereignty of the rest. And now, having conquered peace, the Governor-General set himself to establish within the Company's dominions what he believed to be an improved system, both of finance and of administration. A tax on land, amounting on an average to a third part of the produce, had heretofore provided in India the bulk of the public revenue. Settlements were made annually, by the cultivators of the soil, through officials called Zemindars, who, again retaining a large percentage for their trouble, accounted to the European collectors, of whom each had his own district, for what they had gathered in. Lord Cornwallis assumed that these Zemindars were the owners of the soil, and the cultivators, or Ryots, their tenants. He arranged, therefore, with the Zemindars for an annual payment, which was never to vary, and left them free to make their own bargains with the Ryots. This is the famous permanent settlement of which so much is made in Indian history, and which effected in the provinces over which it extended as complete a social revolution as if every freeholder in England were to be deprived of his title-deeds, and treated as the tenant of the collector of the land-tax.

Another change, introduced by Lord Cornwallis and his advisers, though more specious in appearance, proved in its effects hardly less mischievous. They found that in the villages and outlying districts justice was administered on what seemed to them to be no principle at all, and in every variety of dialect. They knew that in the palmy days of the Mogul empire, Persian had been the language of the court, and they passed a decree that henceforth all legal proceedings should be carried on in that language only. And, that the resemblance between England and India might be the more complete, they introduced into a country heretofore a stranger to them, English forms of complaint, reply, rejoinder, and replication, as well as a class of advocates licensed to plead, and evidence to be received only on oath. These

arrangements, with the setting up of courts of appeal, so entirely perplexed the natives, that it seemed to them as if their new masters were bent on ruining them altogether.

Lord Cornwallis retired from office in 1793; and Sir John Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, succeeded him. In three years he sold up Zemindars, and turned out Ryots, or cultivators, as the law required, by the hundred; but he steadily refused to interfere with the intrigues that were going on among the native powers around him, till the whole continent became, so to speak, like a loaded mine. The consequence was, that when Lord Mornington—afterwards Marquis of Wellesley—arrived, in 1798, to assume the government, he found the empire virtually disarmed, and dangers threatening from every side. For the French, now at war with England, were not slow in forming alliances against the Indian empire. They had a fine army of 14,000 men in the service of the Nizam, as the sovereign of the Deccan was called. They made friends with the Mahrattas, and with Tippoo, and were making arrangements for a general attack on the English, when Lord Mornington's vigorous policy dissolved the league. He prevailed upon the Nizam to dismiss this French contingent; he conciliated a portion of the Mahrattas; and sent at once to demand explanation from Tippoo. No explanation was given, and the war began.

Both sides felt, on this occasion, that the contest must be one for life or death. Tippoo made vast preparations; but Lord Mornington breathed his own spirit into all his subordinates, among whom was his younger brother, Colonel Wellesley, afterwards the great Duke of Wellington. The English army, with General Harris at its head, advanced upon Seringapatam. An attempt to stop it on its march was defeated with great loss to the enemy, and the place was invested. Tippoo made a gallant defence, but without avail. A breach was effected, and an assault delivered, amid the carnage of which Tippoo fell, fighting to the last. A large portion of the conquered territory was annexed to the Madras presidency; and the residue handed over, as a protected state, to a representative of the old Hindoo dignitaries.

The breaking up of Tippoo's empire brought many wild adventurers into the field, against whom, one after another, hostilities were carried on with success. By-and-by the several Mahratta

powers entered into a hostile combination, and two armies were equipped to operate against them—one from Bengal, the other from Madras. Of the latter, Sir Arthur Wellesley took the command, and after a series of skilful manœuvres, brought the enemy to a decisive action at Assaye. This great battle was fought on September 23, 1803, and entirely broke the strength of the confederation on that side of India. On the other side General Lake proved equally successful, defeating the enemy in various encounters and breaking their strength in the battle of La Soirée. This action was fought on October 27, 1803.

Lord Wellesley remained in office till 1805. His career was one of uninterrupted success. He delivered the descendant of the Moguls out of the hands of the Mahrattas, and made him what he continued to be till the era of the great Mutiny—a pensioner dependent on the liberality of England. He enormously increased the territories of the Indian empire, and asserted for his country that commanding position which alone could make her safe in the midst of jealous native powers. But perhaps the most striking incident that characterised his rule was the despatch of a mixed corps of English and native troops, to co-operate with Sir Ralph Abercrombie in Egypt. Having driven the French from all their positions on the continent, he was meditating the conquest of their islands likewise, when tidings reached him of Buonaparte's successes in Egypt and the despatch of a British force to put a stop to them. The corps from India arrived too late to take part in that campaign, but whatever it had to do it did well, and the Sepoys, to their great surprise, found on the banks of the Nile structures which reminded them of their own ancient temples and monuments beside the Ganges, and in the caves of Elora.

Glorious as Lord Wellesley's administration had been, it gave little satisfaction to the Court of Directors; and Lord Cornwallis, now a very old man, was sent out to restore, by a reign of peace, the disordered finances of British India. He arrived in July 1805, and died in the following October. A sort of interregnum ensued, during which Sir George Barlow, the senior member of Council, discharged the perfunctory duties of Governor-General till the arrival of Lord Minto, which occurred in 1807. Both rulers obeyed to the letter the instructions that were given them; but again the consequence was, as it had been before, that they left a sea of troubles to be surmounted by their successor.

This was the Marquis of Hastings, who, in 1813, found that in India, as everywhere else, a policy of forbearance is by semi-barbarous nations accepted as a token of weakness. Hordes of banditti, called Pindaris, rode down from their fastnesses in Malwa to plunder and kill with impunity the inhabitants of the plains. They were openly countenanced by the Mahratta chiefs. Remonstrances addressed to these latter received no attention, and he determined to appeal to the sword.

Meanwhile two powers, both of them as yet unacquainted by experience with the might of the English arms, assumed a hostile attitude from without. Along the bases of the Himalayan mountains, and interposed between the northern portion of Bengal and Chinese Tartary, lies the country of Nepaul, of which a warlike tribe, called Ghoorkas, had made themselves masters. These people, mistaking the moderation of the English for weakness, began, in 1814, to make incursions across the border, attacking with success an inconsiderable force which was sent to restrain them, and seeking to form establishments in certain districts, after they had put the inhabitants to death. Nor were the Burmese idle. That people, who after various changes of fortune had given a sovereign to the whole extent of country which stretches along the eastern shore of the bay of Bengal, between Yuan in China, to the peninsula of Malacca, likewise began to stir. They had their emissaries in all parts of India. They did their best to sow disaffection among even the subjects of the Company, and were in constant communication with the Ghoorkas; and, last of all, the Seikhs, whose dominion was fully established in the Punjab, showed symptoms of disquiet.

Lord Hastings had been charged, like all his predecessors, to keep at peace. It was, indeed, laid upon him, as his chief duty, that he should give encouragement to the working of a commission lately appointed to inquire into the results of the perpetual settlement, with a view to the establishment of a better system in the provinces last acquired. Moreover, certain changes which had been effected at the renewal of the Company's charter in 1813, and especially the opening of the Indian trade to merchants from the outports, with the permission accorded to Englishmen of settling in the country independently of any licence from Leadenhall Street, would, it was believed, make large demands upon his time and his attention, and keep him from the formation of any

such plans of aggrandisement as were supposed to haunt the imaginations of Indian Governors-General. But Lord Hastings knew, being on the spot, what neither the Directors nor the Board of Control, being in London, could guess at. He saw that there was a conspiracy for the overthrow of the English empire, and he took prompt steps to counteract it. He resolved to begin with the Ghoorkas, and he did so effectually.

The Ghoorkas, being a brave and hardy race, being well commanded, also, and having the advantage of a strong mountain country, maintained the war with vigour for two whole years. Though 30,000 British troops operated against them, on different lines, they showed everywhere a bold front, and more than once repulsed their assailants. But the Burmese failed to come, as they had promised, to their assistance, and the Mahrattas seemed loth to throw aside the mask. By bending all his energies, therefore, to one point, Lord Hastings prevailed. The Ghoorkas were glad to purchase peace by not only withdrawing from the districts which they had occupied, but by making over to the victors several provinces, of which the entire superficial area exceeded 12,000 square miles. The Company's frontiers were thus pushed as far north as the roots of the Himalayas, so as to include the delta between the rivers Jumna and Sutlej, and many chiefs residing deeper among the hills came under English protection.

CHAPTER IX.

ON THE PROGRESS OF THE COUNTRY IN OTHER MATTERS DURING THE REIGN OF GEORGE III.

SECTION I.

The Means of Communication and Machinery.

THE reign of George III., as it is the longest, so it deserves to be accounted in many respects the most remarkable in English history. Overclouded in its earlier portion by great military disasters, it came virtually to a close amid a perfect blaze of military glory. Under George III., England's North American colonies broke away in anger from the mother country, and established their independence. Under the same sovereign the factories of a trading company in Asia grew first into provinces, and ended in becoming England's East Indian empire. Meanwhile, on every sea her fleet rode triumphant; and her armies, after liberating the Spanish peninsula, occupied Paris, and with their allies, dictated peace to France, while saving her from dismemberment.

Nor amid the distractions incident to an age of fierce political excitement and stern warfare, were the arts which tend to soften men's manners, and improve the condition of society, neglected. Agriculture, which in the early years of the eighteenth century was rude in the extreme, made prodigious strides in advance, after the accession of George III. to the throne. Himself an agriculturist of no mean ability, and the correspondent of Arthur Young, the great master of that art, the King set an example which was followed by noblemen and gentlemen, who showed their tenantry how to increase the fertility of the soil, and rendered them material assistance in mastering the lesson.

The spirit of enterprise which found vent in the cultivation of the land, became impatient of the means of communica-

tion which then connected one place with another. So late as 1745, the roads, especially in the north, were in such a state that to move troops across country, and interpose them between the Highland army and the capital, was found to be impossible. Even in the vicinity of London itself the case was hardly better, for after heavy rain an entire winter's day would be spent in driving from Kensington Palace to St. James's. Coaches for the conveyance of travellers were then, except in particular districts, unknown. Gentlemen made their journeys on horseback, persons of inferior quality in waggons, and the products of the loom, the cornfield, and the mine were carried on pack-horses to the nearest town. As to water conveyance, that was unknown, except up and down the course of navigable rivers, for crossing which, ferries supplied, for the most part, the only means.

The state of the roads, at the period of the young King's accession, may be judged of, when we mention that the journey between Edinburgh and London consumed a fortnight. The stage coach started once a month, and was provided with a box of carpenters' tools, wherewith to repair damages, which were of frequent occurrence. Salisbury and Oxford were then two days' journey from London, and Exeter five. Nor were other dangers than those of bad roads and bridgeless rivers wanting. All the principal roads were beset by highwaymen or footpads, the latter plying their trade chiefly in and about the metropolis. The consequence was, that the inhabitants of one part of the kingdom knew little or nothing of the inhabitants of another; and that Kentishmen, Yorkshiremen, and the people of Devonshire and Cornwall, were as distinct in their dialect and in many of their customs as if they had been denizens of different countries.

Roused by what had befallen in 1745, the Government exerted itself to improve the means of communication between London and the provinces. Acts of Parliament were passed, lines of road were marked out, and turnpike-gates set up. Between 1760 and 1774, not fewer than 452 turnpike acts came into force, in spite of a determined resistance by the people, especially in Yorkshire and Lancashire. But the art of road-making was still so little understood, that stage-coaches would from time to time turn aside into the fields, in order to avoid the deep ruts or huge unbroken masses of stone with which the highways were cumbered.

It is a curious fact, that one of the earliest road-makers in England on scientific principles was a blind man. John Metcalf, a native of Knaresborough, who lost his sight by smallpox at six years of age, appears to have set the common laws of Nature at defiance. His powers of mental calculation were astonishing. He was a bold and skilful horseman, and, more surprising still, he was a safe guide to travellers by night and day over the barren moors which surrounded his native town. We find this man, in 1764, superintending the construction of a road between Harrogate and Boroughbridge, which served its purpose so well, that other works of the kind were one after another entrusted to him. But, perhaps, one of the most extraordinary of all his exploits was the construction of a firm coach-road across some miles of bog between Huddersfield and Manchester. Instead of digging into the moss, as the contractor required him to do, till he should reach the solid bottom, he pursued, by anticipation, the very plan by which George Stephenson, in 1829, caused Chatmoss to sustain the weight of his famous railway between Manchester and Liverpool.

The impulse being thus given, improvements were year by year introduced into the art of road-making, which may be said to have attained to perfection in the hands of Thomas Telford and J. L. Macadam. The former, instructed by Government, surveyed the whole of Scotland, and in 1803 began that series of operations which has made the Scottish roads, and especially the Highland roads, the admiration of all who traverse them. The labours of the latter were carried on in England, and to such excellent purpose that, just before the railway system interfered to change men's habits, ordinary stage-coaches careered from town to town, at the rate of eight miles—express or fast coaches, of ten miles—an hour, stoppages included.

Between 1760 and 1815, bridges were thrown over all the rivers which crossed the lines of important roads both in England and Scotland. The chief constructor of these was William Edwards, a self-taught engineer, who began in 1746 by placing a bridge upon the Taff, and subsequently bridged over the Usk at Usk, in Monmouthshire, the Tame near Swansea, and the Wye near Hay, in Brecknockshire. Telford, in constructing the Scottish roads, constructed bridges likewise; as did John Metcalf in the northern counties of England.

Meanwhile, inland navigation was promoted by the construction, between 1760 and 1765, of the Bridgewater Canal, under the skilful management of James Brindley. The same accomplished engineer surveyed and marked out the course of the Grand Trunk Canal, and himself superintended the formation of the Wolverhampton, Coventry, Droitwich, and Chesterfield Canals. Following in his footsteps, John Rennie completed various canals between 1791 and 1802. To him the Rochdale Canal, the Lancaster Canal, and, more important still, the Royal Canal in Ireland, owe their existence. But the most stupendous work of the whole, was the Caledonian Canal, often thought of in times gone by, projected in 1801, and carried into effect by Telford in 1804. It remains to this day a noble monument to the skill and enterprise of its projectors, though for commercial purposes it has proved a total failure.

While the means of inland communication were thus promoted, much care was bestowed upon the improvement of river navigation, and upon the construction of harbours and docks. Between 1766 and 1786 Smeaton constructed the harbours of St. Ives, Ramsgate, and Exmouth, and improved those of Aberdeen and Dundee. Even more industrious and successful in operations of this sort was John Rennie, of whom it has been said, that there is scarcely a harbour or dock in the United Kingdom which has not benefited more or less from his applied skill. Mr. Rennie began his operations in 1793, and continued them without intermission up to 1824. During that interval he constructed or improved among others the harbours at Wick, Torbay, Grimsby, and Holyhead, besides improving the navigation of the Medway and the Clyde. To him also Great Britain is indebted for some of her most important docks—such as those at Leith, Hull, and Sheerness. But perhaps the most surprising works of all connected with navigation were the construction by Smeaton of the Eddystone lighthouse in the vicinity of Plymouth, and of the Bell Rock lighthouse by Rennie midway between the Friths of Forth and Tay, off the Scottish coast. Not fewer than three years were expended in the former of these undertakings, while the latter, begun in 1807, was finished in 1810. There followed upon these successful enterprises such a distribution of lights from point to point as rendered the coast navigation of Great Britain, naturally the most intricate, one of the safest and easiest in the world.

If we look next to what was done to facilitate mining and draining operations, we shall find that the advances made during the reign of George III. were not less striking. In 1760 the application of steam to these purposes was scarcely known. James Watt, originally a mathematical instrument maker in Glasgow, may be said to have developed the pliability of that stupendous power. Besides employing it to pump water from mines, he constructed, in 1783, the first steam-engine that was used in driving a mill. How this discovery was improved upon, till in manufacturing operations steam gradually superseded both the power of water and of the human hand, we need not stop to explain.

Let us not however forget, in speaking of the growth of manufactures, to give the credit that is due to others than great engineers. Up to the year 1768, threads, whether of cotton or of wool, were spun, and clothes fabricated in England by pure manual labour. The process, too, was of the simplest kind, for in spite of the invention of the fly-shuttle in 1738, no weaver could undertake to produce a web, which should measure more than eighteen inches, or at the most two feet in width. By-and-by arose in succession Louis Paul and James Hayes, the former of whom introduced the method of spinning upon rollers, which thirty years afterwards the latter greatly improved. Next, Arkwright invented the fly-wheel, and Hargrave the spinning jenny. But perhaps the most remarkable, as he was certainly one of the most unfortunate of inventors, was Samuel Crompton, who combined in the same loom Hargrave's spinning jenny and Arkwright's water-frame. The instrument thus constructed he called the mule, because it united to a system of rollers spindles without bobbins which gave the twist, so that the thread was stretched and spun at the same time. The consequence was, that threads of the finest quality could be carried to any length, and that first twenty, then thirty, and ultimately as many as forty-eight shuttles could be kept constantly going by a single movement of the weaver's hand and knee. The result of these inventions was, that whereas in 1767 the cotton imported for manufacture into England amounted to not more than 3,300,000 lbs., in 1800, after the mule was fairly launched, the imports exceeded 56,000,000 lbs.

SECTION II.

Literature.

IN speaking of the literature of early times it is by no means impossible for the historian to give a completeness to his sketch, because the number of literary men was small, and our knowledge of them is necessarily confined to their works which have been preserved. But when dealing with times so near our own as those of George III., completeness is impossible. The printing press was not indeed so fertile as now, when the publications of a single year would fill a good-sized library, yet its produce was very large, and is, almost all of it, accessible to us, if only in the British Museum. The work therefore before us is one of selection.

Of literary men at the beginning of the reign of George III., the central figure was Dr. Johnson, at its close it was Sir Walter Scott. It is characteristic of the reign that though both wrote poems, the fame of neither depends chiefly on their poetry.

Samuel Johnson was the son of a provincial bookseller at Lichfield. His personal appearance was ungainly: he was of great size, and scrofulous. His manners excited amusement, but he had a native worth, a noble independence of speech, maintained often in the extremity of distress, which made and still make him honoured in spite of these peculiarities. After a struggling life at Oxford, and work for some years that was most distasteful to him as an usher in provincial schools, he came to London and did various jobs for the booksellers. He was engaged in the early numbers of the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' to which he contributed accounts of the parliamentary debates, though the law compelled him to veil them under false names. He published also the 'Idler' and 'Rambler,' two journals in the style of Addison's 'Spectator.' The great work of his life was his Dictionary of the English Language, which is the basis of all English dictionaries since published. Its chief value consists not in the definitions, which are often ludicrously prejudiced, but in its quotations from standard English authors. Dr. Johnson accomplished in seven years a work which, in other countries, has occupied learned societies a much longer space of time. He also

wrote two poems, imitations of the satires of Juvenal, 'London' and 'The Vanity of Human Wishes,' each of which contains lines of remarkable power: a tragedy called 'Irene,' and 'Rasselas, Prince of Abyssinia'—a tale that illustrates Johnson's own views of human life. His last work was the 'Lives of the Poets,' in which he is often unfair but always suggestive. Shortly after the accession of King George, when Lord Bute was minister, a pension of 300*l.* a year was conferred on Johnson, so that for the rest of his life, he was no more troubled by want. Dr. Johnson's style is one by no means to be imitated, being heavy and very full of words derived from the Latin. He used it with effect: but his imitators are unreadable.

It is impossible to mention Johnson without recalling his faithful friend, James Boswell, who wrote his life, the best biography in the English language. Boswell was a Scotchman, of no talent; but from his profound belief in his friend he has chronicled the small traits of his life and fragments of his conversation, till his readers seem to know Johnson and the society in which he lived as well as their own friends.

Edmund Burke, whose fame as an orator, in his speeches on the Colonies and on the Impeachment of Warren Hastings, belong rather to history than to literature, shines also in the latter field. He was the founder of the 'Annual Register.' He wrote a 'Treatise on the Sublime and Beautiful:' and when, later in life, all his political convictions were changed by the course of events in France, he wrote his 'Reflections on the French Revolution.'

The latter half of the eighteenth century saw in England a cluster of three great historians—Hume, Robertson, and Gibbon.

David Hume was a Scotch literary man, whose reputation would have been established by his writings on moral and political philosophy, had these not been eclipsed by his History of England, which is written in a flowing and clear style, and has not yet, in spite of its faults, been superseded as a general history. The chief fault is a want of research: he tells all stories, though they may be the invention of a monkish chronicler, as if they were fact. He shows marked indifference to religion, and even to political liberty, for he is a strong admirer of the Stuart kings.

William Robertson was also a Scotchman, author of the 'History of Scotland,' the 'Reign of Charles V.,' and the 'History of

the Discovery of America.' He owes much to his luminous style, and to the interest of his subjects. Modern discoveries in history have given later writers an advantage over him: but students would gain much by a careful study of the survey of the Middle Ages, which forms an introduction to the Reign of Charles V.

But the greatest of these historians was Edward Gibbon, an English gentleman of independent means, once a captain in the Hampshire militia, and for a short time a member of Parliament; but he lived chiefly abroad, upon the banks of the Lake of Geneva. His great work, 'The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,' is remarkable for the width of its range. It treats of the history of the Roman Empire, from the time of the Cæsars until its last vestiges were swept away; of the growth of modern nations from its ruins. It thus includes the whole period usually called the Middle Ages, and also the times that preceded them. The invasion of the barbarians, the rise of Mahomedanism, the Crusades, all fall within his compass. The gravest charge made against the work is that he is unfair to Christianity. His style, also, though weighty and impressive, is too full of words derived from the Latin. He wrote his own Autobiography.

Another writer of some fame as a historian was William Roscoe, a Liverpool merchant, the author of the Lives of Leo X. and of Lorenzo de Medici, in which the state of Italy at the times of the Renaissance is picturesquely depicted.

The same period saw also the rise of a new science, Political Economy. Adam Smith, a Scotch professor, author of the 'Wealth of Nations,' may be regarded as its founder. The three most prominent theories in this book are, that money and wealth are not identical terms, the doctrine of free trade, and the division of labour. Historical students know the influence which these theories have had on subsequent legislation. He also wrote the 'Theory of Moral Sentiments.'

Sir William Blackstone's 'Commentaries' on the Laws of England still form the basis of text-books of English Law.

One eminent divine also adorned the time, who is still studied at the University of Cambridge—Archdeacon Paley. He is a popular writer, fertile in illustration, and easy in his style. If such subjects could be made easy it would be by the pages of Paley. His works are the 'Evidences of Christianity,' 'Horæ Paulinæ' (arguments for the truth of Christianity based on the

Epistles of St. Paul), the 'Elements of Moral and Political Philosophy, and Natural Theology' (or arguments for the existence of a God from the evidence of design in nature).

These whom we have mentioned may be regarded as the chief prose writers of the period. We turn to the poets. Of the brilliant circle that surrounded Dr. Johnson, one, Oliver Goldsmith, was a poet. His simple and quiet poems, 'The Traveller' and 'The Deserted Village,' are well known. But he is more famous for his prose writings, especially the simple tale 'The Vicar of Wakefield.'

It will be necessary to pass over somewhat quickly the secondary poets of this time. James Beattie is the author of 'The Minstrel,' Bloomfield, of 'The Farmer's Boy'; William Falconer wrote a poem called 'The Shipwreck'; Erasmus Darwin, a treatise on Botany, in verse, called 'The Botanic Garden,' and 'The Loves of the Plants'; the Rev. George Crabbe, some poems of humble life and depicting quiet scenery—'The Borough,' 'The Library,' and 'Tales.'

There were two famous literary forgeries. A Scotchman, named Macpherson, produced some poetry which he said was written by Ossian, an old Gaelic bard. The poetry is very wild and turgid, but was for a time much admired. It has still considerable acceptance on the Continent, especially in Russia. Chatterton, 'the marvellous boy,' a youth of Bristol, of humble parentage, composed poems, and passing them off as the works of an old monk, thus obtained for them a wide circulation.

The stage during this period could boast not only of a great actor in the person of David Garrick, but of the production of several dramas, which still hold their own. Goldsmith's 'Good-natured Man,' and 'She Stoops to Conquer,' and Colman's 'Heir-at-Law,' are brilliant comedies. But Richard Brinsley Sheridan, famous as an orator, is still more famous as the author of three comedies—'The Rivals,' 'The School for Scandal,' 'The Critic,'—and an opera, 'The Duenna.'

The three greatest names in English poetry in the period that ends with 1800, the year of Cowper's death, are Cowper, Gray, and Burns.

William Cowper was not a born poet. That, indeed, seems a fair criticism on a poet who wrote nothing till he was past fifty. He was of a nervous temperament, and was early forced into the

law, for which profession he was unsuited. Obtaining a post in the House of Lords, he was so frightened at the prospect of an examination for it, that his reason lost its balance, and he tried to commit suicide. He was placed by his friends, first with a doctor, then with a schoolmaster, lastly, with a Calvinist clergyman in the country. With the schoolmaster's wife, Mrs. Unwin, he formed a close friendship; and, in conjunction with the clergyman, the Rev. John Newton, published the Olney Hymns, many of which are very beautiful, but almost all are tinged with the severe tenets of the Calvinist school. But Cowper is better known for other poems—'John Gilpin's Ride,' 'Lines on my Mother's Picture,' 'Boadicea,' 'The Castaway.' His longest poem is 'The Task,' a poem of daily life, which has thrown a halo of poetry over even the Bedfordshire scenery on the banks of the Ouse.

Thomas Gray was the last of the poets who thought more of the form than the matter of their poems. His verses are all carefully chiselled; it seems as if in the polishing they had lost something of their fire. It has been well said, that Gray wrote poetry like an Eton boy making Latin verses with the assistance of a gradus, only Gray's gradus was a well-stored memory. Every line reminds us of something either in an ancient or in a modern poet, and such reminiscences give a great charm to his verse. But the want of originality keeps Gray out of the first rank of poets. The 'Elegy in a Churchyard,' is the best known. In 'The Bard,' the poet depicts one of the ancient Welsh bards meeting the army of Edward at Conway, and prophesying the future greatness of the English race. 'The Progress of Poetry' traces poetry passing from Greece to Rome, thence to England, and producing Shakespeare, Spenser, and Milton.

The greatest song-writer of Great Britain, perhaps the greatest poet of Scotland, is Robert Burns, born a peasant, in Ayrshire. His poems produced a great excitement when first published. A place in the excise was found for him, but it unfortunately led to habits of intemperance, from which he died at the early age of thirty-seven. His songs are inspired either by love or patriotism, and are unsurpassed, perhaps unsurpassable. His poems give us a beautiful picture of peasant life in the Lowlands of Scotland. 'The Cotter's Saturday Night' is the best.

The eighteenth century was not a good time for poetry. Of

the poets we have mentioned, Burns alone belongs to the first rank. But with the opening of the nineteenth appeared a band of true poets, of whom, perhaps, the first to attract public attention was Walter Scott. He was an Edinburgh lawyer, whom a passion for the Border traditions and intense study of Bishop Percy's 'Reliques of Ancient Poetry' converted into a poet. In 1805 he published 'The Lay of the Last Minstrel;' three years later, 'Marmion,' and then 'The Lady of the Lake.' These, though not his only, are the three best of Scott's poems. All are written in the same kind of quick style, in the eight-syllabled rhymed metre. The first is a tale of the Border. The second is more historical, its interest being centred in the scene with which it concludes, the Battle of Flodden: the third is a tale of Scotch history, and is connected with the beautiful scenery of the Scotch lakes. In 1814, the fame which Scott had won for himself as a poet was wholly eclipsed by the greater fame, which, enhanced by the mystery of his long-preserved incognito, he obtained as a romance writer. In July 1814 was published 'Waverley,' the first of a series of novels, chiefly historical, which created a perfect revolution in the literary taste of the age. Scholars and men of cultivated mind learned to recognise the merits of prose romance, when the hand of a master makes use of it to delineate, not only the manners of an age, but also the various shapes which human nature puts on in all ages.

Before Scott, and even during his reign in the literary world, there lived novelists, whose names, indeed, have been eclipsed by his, but who deserve at least a passing mention. Horace Walpole, who is better known as a collector of artistic trifles and of gossip, wrote, besides his 'Memoirs,' a novel, 'The Castle of Otranto.' It was the first of the novels in which the Middle Ages were selected as an unknown time, and a castle with knights and robbers and mystery introduced with effect. Mrs. Anne Radcliffe is of the same school. The suspense of an unravelled mystery is skilfully employed to preserve the interest. The very names of her books suggest their style: 'The Romance of the Forest,' 'The Mysteries of Udolpho,' and 'The Italian.' It is the gorgeousness, as well as the mystery of the East, that gives a charm to 'Caliph Vathek,' almost the only work of the accomplished William Beckford, of Fonthill Abbey. And yet there were writers of a quieter school, who depicted the possible rather

than the mysterious. So simple a tale as Goldsmith's 'Vicar of Wakefield' can, perhaps, hardly be classed with novels. Miss Burney, who afterwards became Madame d'Arblay, charmed the world 'with the best work of fiction that had appeared since the death of Smollett,'[1] Evelina, followed later by 'Cecilia.' Jane Austen's novels, 'Sense and Sensibility,' 'Pride and Prejudice,' 'Mansfield Park,' 'Emma,' treat of the life of the middle classes with quiet satire, plenty of common sense, and exquisite delineation of character. Maria Edgeworth's books are written more with a purpose: 'Harry and Lucy,' 'Frank,' with a distinctly educational object; 'Castle Rackrent,' to expose the Irish landlords.

Of all the poets of the beginning of this century one of the greatest, if not the greatest, and certainly the first if estimated by his influence upon other poets, is William Wordsworth. He was born in Cumberland, and educated at Cambridge. Early in life he took up the views of the revolutionary party in France; later, he settled down into a steady belief in Church and King. He lived chiefly in the Lake District, and died in his eightieth year. The great merit of Wordsworth as a poet is that he knew how to make common things sublime: that writing after an age of flowery and unreal poets, he brought back a reign of simplicity. Such poetry was not likely to be popular at first; and it was not until the poems of Scott and of Byron had each had their day, that 'the still small voice' of Wordsworth, shouted down by the reviewers, was really heard by the public. His longest, though hardly his most successful, poem is 'The Excursion;' he is at his best rather in sonnets and shorter poems.

Samuel Taylor Coleridge was born in Devonshire, educated at Christ's Hospital, and then at Cambridge. He left the University, and for a short time served as a private in the Dragoons. After a sojourn in Germany he went to live near Wordsworth, in the Lake District, and ultimately lived with a friend at Highgate, where he died. The best known of his poems are 'The Ancient Mariner,' and 'Christabel,' both of them wild and dreamy. Some of his shorter lyrical pieces, on 'Sunrise in the Valley of Chamouni,' for instance, are exquisite. But it was not only, nor chiefly, as a poet, Coleridge was famous; rather as a thinker and as a talker, often unsystematic, but always suggestive. 'The

[1] Macaulay.

Friend' is his best known production in the former character: 'Table Talk' preserves an echo of the latter.

Robert Southey, born at Bristol, educated at Westminster and Oxford, passing through the same changes of belief as Wordsworth and Coleridge, also resided for the greater part of his life in the Lake District. It was from this circumstance that these three poets have received the name of the Lake School of Poetry. He has not, however, such power as a poet as either of the others. His activity was very great; and one critic has counted that he produced 109 volumes besides 149 articles in reviews, and all of these on subjects requiring research. It will not be possible to give more than the names of his principal works. His chief poems are 'Joan of Arc'; 'Madoc,' a Welsh prince who discovers America three centuries before Columbus; 'Thalaba,' and 'The Curse of Kehama,' two wild, unearthly poems, one based on Arabian fancies, the other on Hindoo mythology; 'Roderick, the Last of the Goths,' a tale of early Spanish History. The lives of Nelson and of Wesley are the best known amongst his prose works.

Sir Walter Scott avowed that the reason he ceased to write poetry and took to romance-writing was that he felt he was surpassed in the popular estimation by Lord Byron. George Gordon, Lord Byron, was born of a noble family and educated at Harrow and at Cambridge. A club foot and an early belief that people laughed at his infirmity made him hostile to his race. An unfortunate marriage and a mysterious separation from his wife confirmed him in his views. He went abroad and lived for a long time in Italy in open immorality, redeemed indeed, if that can ever be redeemed, by a love of liberty; and when the Greeks struggled to obtain their freedom, he went to join them, and died in Greece at the early age of thirty-six. His earliest poem of note is the 'English Bards and Scotch Reviewers,' in which he took his revenge for a criticism of the 'Edinburgh Review' on an early volume of his poetry by a general onslaught on all contemporary writers. 'Childe Harold' is the noblest of his works. The Childe travels all over Europe, and historical scenes or picturesque landscapes adorn every page. Of his narrative poems the best amongst many that are beautiful is the 'Siege of Corinth.' He wrote 'Manfred' and 'Cain,' which may be characterised as dramas of despair. 'Don

Juan' may be described as 'at once his glory and his shame': his power and his shameless indecency appear at the fullest.

Of the contemporaries of Byron and of Scott, four especially must be mentioned—it would not be difficult to increase the number—Moore and Shelley, Keats and Campbell.

Thomas Moore, an Irishman, was a great friend of Byron, and published his life. His genius is specially adapted for lyrical poetry. His best known works are the 'Irish Melodies,' a volume of songs, and 'Lalla Rookh.'

Percy Bysshe Shelley was the son of a baronet, educated at Eton and at Oxford. From the University he was expelled for avowing atheism. He came in contact with Byron, over whom he had a good deal of influence. When yachting he was drowned, in a sudden squall in the Mediterranean, and is buried at Rome. 'Queen Mab,' his greatest work, is wild, and full of atheistic views. His other tragedies are 'Prometheus Unbound' and 'The Cenci.' 'Adonais' is a lament on the death of his friend Keats. His best poems are some small lyrics, 'To a Skylark' and 'A Cloud.'

John Keats was a young English poet, who died at the age of twenty-five—some say from an attack in the 'Quarterly Review,' but more truly from consumption, aggravated by chagrin caused by that attack. His chief poem, 'Endymion,' shows that he, as well as Shelley, had drunk deep of the spirit of the ancient Greek poetry.

Thomas Campbell was a Scotchman, who suddenly became famous for the publication of 'The Pleasures of Hope.' 'Hohenlinden,' 'The Mariners of England,' and 'Lochiel' are, perhaps, still better known.

In the middle of the eighteenth century there had arisen in France a body of able men, who combined to put forth an encyclopædia, wherein were taught with much that was valuable in science and in literature, principles subversive of religion and morality as well as of civil government and the order of society. The labours of these writers contributed, with other causes, to give to the great French Revolution its atrocious character. In imitation of this work, so far as the diffusion of scientific and general knowledge had been its object, the 'Encyclopædia Britannica' was originated. It went through two editions, and a third being projected, the care of editing and com-

piling a supplement was entrusted to Dr. Gleig, afterwards Bishop of Brechin. The work took, under his management, a higher religious and moral tone, of which the King expressed his approval by allowing its dedication to himself. Some of the ablest writers of the age—philosophers, scholars, and men of science—contributed to that edition, which commanded a large share of public attention, and upon which the editions of the work which have subsequently appeared—and they are many—may be said to have been built up.

Another important revolution in the literature of the country dates from the latter portion of this reign. Hitherto the periodicals of the day were of a very worthless kind. To the 'Spectators' and 'Ramblers,' through which Addison, Steele, and Dr. Johnson spoke to their countrymen, there succeeded magazines filled for the most part with silly anecdotes, bad stories, and worse criticisms.

A few exceptions to this general rule, certainly occurred. The 'Gentleman's Magazine' always contained, as it still contains, specimens of valuable antiquarian and other knowledge, and of the 'Annual Register,' begun under the auspices of Burke, and continued down to the present day, it is impossible, as a book of reference, to speak too highly. In 1802 a knot of clever men, comprehending among others the late Lord Brougham, Lord Jeffrey, and the Rev. Sydney Smith, projected and launched the 'Edinburgh Review,' which commanded at once the admiration and respect of the reading community. But the 'Edinburgh' was not destined to retain a monopoly of public favour. In politics and religion its tone gave offence to the Government and their supporters, and in 1808 a formidable rival made its appearance. This was the 'Quarterly Review,' of which the late Mr. John Murray of Albemarle Street was the projector, and to which Sir Walter Scott and Southey, with many other able men, contributed.

Section III.

State of Religion, Arts, and Travels.

Of the state of religion in the early portion of this reign it is painful to speak. Whatever might be the causes which contributed to bring about the melancholy result, there can be no doubt

that infidelity was rampant among the upper classes of society, and indifferentism among the great bulk of the middle and lower. The clergy led for the most part very secular lives, and the people ceased to respect what their teachers appeared to undervalue. This it was which in the reign of George II. had given to Wesley and Whitfield their enormous influence over the masses. They were seen to be in earnest, while the bulk of the regular clergy were not—either treating the exertions of these men with contempt, or heading the opposition which was offered to them. And yet there flourished in those days, divines second only to the still more eminent men whom the eras of the Reformation and the great civil wars raised up. Warburton, the author of 'The Divine Legation of Moses,' survived to the year 1779. Latterly a better spirit prevailed, and if Simeon and the divines of his school went too far in preferring sanctity to order, they, at all events, provoked the more orthodox of their brethren into higher and warmer zeal. Under the influence of that zeal, not untinctured, perhaps, by party spirit, the clergy of both schools took the lead in promoting in their parishes a system of primary education, of which Dr. Bell, a returned chaplain from India, claimed to be the originator. Dr. Bell's claim to originality was disputed, perhaps fairly so, by a quaker gentleman of the name of Lancaster. But rivalry of this sort, like rivalry between religious sects, is sometimes productive of as much good as evil. Bell's and Lancaster's schools sprang up side by side in all parts of the country, till both alike gave place to the superior systems of which the National Society on the one hand, and the British and Foreign School Society on the other, are the main promoters.

It is right to add that, before either Bell or Lancaster came to the front, a beginning was made in the education of the children of the poor by the establishment of Sunday schools. Mrs. Hannah Ball, a benevolent lady in High Wickham, seems to have entered upon this enterprise by herself ; but the real foundation of the system was laid, when Mr. Raikes, the proprietor and printer of the 'Gloucester Observer,' put his hand to the plough. His example was extensively followed in various quarters.

The period of history of which this little volume treats, is remarkable for the rise of British Art, and the foundation of the Royal Academy. Prior to the reign of George III. almost all the

painters, sculptors, and architects were foreigners. Sir Peter Lely and Sir Godfrey Kneller were both Germans. But in the early years of this reign, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Hogarth, and other painters attained the highest eminence in their respective styles, and gave an impulse to the art. Reynolds, born at Plympton in Devonshire, was the son of a clergyman. He worked for a while in London under an indifferent artist, and subsequently visited Rome, where he studied the ancient masters. His fame rests mainly, but not exclusively, upon his portraits, of which the earliest was that of Captain Hamilton, afterwards first Marquis of Abercorn. Yet, in the old house of Knole, are to be found some exquisite specimens of his fancy pieces—as, for example, Mrs. Addington in the character of the Comic Muse, and the terrible picture which represents Count Ugolino and his children dying of hunger. Reynolds tried various experiments in compounding his colours, of which the results have been that, in many instances, portraits which, when first executed, excited the highest admiration are now fading away.

Of Hogarth we are scarcely justified in speaking here. Horace Walpole describes him as rather a writer of comedy with the pencil, than a painter. Yet his great works, 'The Rake's Progress,' 'The Harlot's Progress,' and 'Marriage à la Mode,' have at least as much of tragedy as of comedy about them.

Allen Ramsay, a son of the poet of the same name, though inferior to Reynolds, exhibits both taste and skill in his portraits. He was a great friend of Dr. Johnson, and painter in ordinary to the King and Queen. The career of Ramsay was a remarkable one, especially at its close. At the age of twenty-seven, he deserted his wife in Kendal, and went to London to push his fortune. There he remained and throve for thirty-seven years, without communicating with her at all. At the end of that interval he returned to her a rich man, but broken in body and mind. In that condition the true woman received him with open arms, and nursed him through his growing imbecility till he died.

Gainsborough, born and bred in Suffolk, received no better education than a country school could supply. From his earliest years he exhibited an unconquerable passion for art, and a beautiful wood, near Sudbury, is still pointed out as the place in which, a truant from school, he used to sit and fill his copy-books with sketches of flowers and trees.

As Reynolds may be said to have founded the English school of portrait-painting, so to Gainsborough and Wilson belongs the honour of originating the not less striking school of English landscape. Wilson's woodland scenes, with waggon and horse and peasantry introduced, are masterpieces of their kind.

Contemporaneously with these great painters flourished Bacon, Nollekens, and Flaxman: the first the author of the monument to Lord Chatham in Westminster Abbey, the second famous for the beauty of his busts, the third perfect in his statuary.

In architecture, England was not then rich, though the name of Chambers deserves to be recorded, as the author of the design after which Somerset House was rebuilt, and the careful superintendent of the work while in progress. He began this great work in 1776, and completed it, all but the western wing, in 1780. He obtained the honour of knighthood.

The presence of so many artists at the same time in London, and their natural desire to exhibit their productions, led, in 1765, to the formation of the Academy. A charter of incorporation was granted to it, and subsequently, in 1768, it became, under the King's patronage, the Royal Academy. Of this, Reynolds was appointed the first president, the honour of knighthood being conferred upon him.

Meanwhile, the sister art of music was not forgotten. To the school which Handel had founded the King remained warmly attached to the last. The oratorio, with its sublime choruses and touching solos, commended itself peculiarly to his religious tastes, and the performances of the master, with whom he had conversed as Prince of Wales, he continued to patronise as King, after the great composer had passed away. But he was not therefore indifferent to the compositions of Thomas Augustine Arne, whose opera of 'Artaxerxes,' produced originally in 1762, was long foremost in the estimation of the English people. Besides Arne, this era produced, of English composers, Thomas Linley, Dr. Samuel Arnold, Charles Dibdin, and William Shield. Linley composed and adapted the music for Sheridan's opera 'The Duenna,' and gave to the author of the piece his charming daughter Eliza in marriage. Dr. Arnold's compositions were chiefly religious. His oratorio of 'The Prodigal Son,' in particular, obtained a considerable amount of fame. Of Dibdin's works almost all are now forgotten, except his noble sea songs, which will keep their

place in public estimation as long as England has a navy. Of Shield's performances few keep their ground, but his delightful glee, 'O happy happy fair,' still holds, as it deserves to do, a high place in public estimation.

But perhaps in no respect was the reign of George III. more memorable than on account of the zeal and success with which, during the middle and latter part of the eighteenth century, voyages of discovery were prosecuted. In the year succeeding the Peace of Paris, Commodore Byron, who had distinguished himself in the war just concluded, went forth to explore the Pacific in a southerly direction, as far as circumstances would allow. He rounded Cape Horn after steering round the Falklands, and discovered various groups of smaller islands lying like specks in the ocean beyond. Three years later, Captains Wallis and Carteret reached the western entrance of the Straits of Magellan whence they returned by different routes to England. The great island of Taheiti or Otaheite was discovered by the former; the latter came upon a lesser cluster, to which he gave the name of Queen Charlotte Islands.

But by far the most distinguished voyager of that age was Captain James Cook, the son of a Yorkshire labourer. He began life as a ship-boy on board of a collier. He entered the royal navy, educated himself carefully while serving before the mast, and by his intrepidity and intelligence in many critical situations, won the respect both of equals and superiors. In Wolfe's campaign against Quebec he guided the flotilla to the mouth of the Montmorency river, and afterwards steered the leading boat when Wolfe descended the St. Lawrence, landed at Wolfe's cave, and mounted to the heights of Abraham. For these and other services he obtained well-merited promotion, till he attained the rank of captain of a man-of-war.

In 1768 astronomers foretold that there would be a transit of Venus, and that important results might be obtained if the process were observed from the latitude of Otaheite. Captain Cook was at once selected to command the expedition; and taking with him Mr.—afterwards Sir Joseph—Banks, and Mr. Solander, a distinguished chemist, he began, in August of the year, a voyage which carried him over 4,000 miles of ocean. Rounding Cape Horn, he touched at various points, and reaching Otaheite, set up his principal observatory on the northern cape of the

island, which he called Fort Venus. He lived among the inhabitants for three months, and found them to be a gentle but dissolute race, having no written language, nor any means of subsistence, except the fruit of the bread-tree, the fish which they caught on the coasts, and hogs in abundance. The climate he describes as delicious, rendering other shelter than that of huts, constructed mainly of palm leaves, unnecessary, even at night. Frost, and therefore ice, was unknown; and of the possibility of boiling water, the people were ignorant. Their fish and hog's flesh they cooked by baking them in rude ovens, and the fruit of the bread-tree they roasted before the fire. Pursuing his voyage, Cook discovered, first what are now called the Society Islands, next New Zealand, and by-and-by New Holland. To the eastern coast of the latter island, which he explored with great care, he gave the name of New South Wales; and one inlet, where Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander discovered plants in great variety, was called Botany Bay. It became in after years a famous penal settlement.

Meanwhile, attempts were made to explore, northward, along the coasts of the Atlantic. In 1776 and 1777, Lieutenants Pickersgill and Young conducted expeditions into Baffin's Bay and the Society Islands. He prevailed upon a young chief, named Omelie, to accompany him to England. The youth was presented to the King at Kew. and received into the best society of London, upon which he made a very favourable impression. But still more daring were the enterprises of Mr. Samuel Hearne and Mr. Alexander Mackenzie, two gentlemen in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. The former set out in 1770, escorted by a body of Indians, to search out a river which had been described as navigable for ships and abounding in copper. Twelve hundred miles of painful march carried him to his destination. But the river proved to be unnavigable; and of copper there was no appearance. It retains, however, the name of the Coppermine river. Mr. Mackenzie's operations carried him into the centre of the continent, where, embarking on a vast lake, he made his way by a river running northward into the Arctic Sea. So thickly was it beset with ice, that only after discovering a shoal of whales at play among the icebergs, was he satisfied that he had not reached a frozen continent.

Captain Cook performed not fewer than three exploring voy-

ages in the Pacific, with great success. In 1777, he anchored for some weeks in Nootcas Sound; and in the spring of the following year carried his discoveries beyond Behring Straits into the Polar Circle. He had previously revisited the Society Islands, and restored the young chief to his friends. But he did not live to reap the full reward of so many eminent services. The natives of one of the Sandwich Islands at which he touched, stole and made away with the ship's cutter. He landed with a small party of marines, to recover the missing boat, and got involved in a conflict with the natives. He was stabbed in the back when turning round to stop the fire of his own men, and fell dead into the water. This sad event occurred in February 1779.

Such were the beginnings of those daring voyages, of which the succession brings us down almost to the present day. Nor should we omit to mention those early expeditions to explore the centre of Africa, which have made the name of Livingstone famous in the present generation. It was only eight years after the accession of King George that Bruce commenced his travels. Two years before the French Revolution, the English settled the colony of Sierra Leone. Mungo Park made two attempts, one at the close of the last century, and the other at the beginning of this, to discover the sources of the Niger. The first was unsuccessful, and from the second he never returned.

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